

Communist Program Rolls Back Tradition in Afghanistan

By Richard M. Weintraub
Washington Post Foreign Service

KABUL, Afghanistan—At Kabul University and in a village on the outskirts of the capital, young women are breaking away from the traditional dress and roles that they were restricted to until recently.

Unlike nearby South Asian and Middle Eastern countries, it is not uncommon to see women in modern, albeit modest, western clothes conversing in the street with other women covered from head to toe in the traditional Afghan *chadri*.

At Kabul University young women talk openly of their plans for careers in teaching. In Char Asiab, outside the city, a teen-ager explains how she will take a bus to the city to work in a factory.

This is a sharp contrast to tradition in Moslem Afghanistan—and to neighboring Pakistan, where very few women are seen in public without traditional dress. In the Afghan refugee camps of Pakistan, *purdah*, the tradition of secluding women, remains strong and women rarely appear in public.

Kabul was not always so tolerant. When Emir Amanullah tried in the 1920s to follow the example of Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk and modernize Afghanistan, he was quickly overthrown. Even as recently as 1959, when prime minister Mohammed Daoud and his Cabinet ministers appeared on a public platform accompanied by their unveiled wives, it was a major shock.

Although Daoud was overthrown, his reformist zeal is a frequent theme in discussions within the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), as the ruling communist party is called. It is not surprising, then, that many women, and young people, are supporters of the ruling party.

"The revolution did have a lot of support among Kabul and middle-class youth," said one western observer. "They saw it as a vehicle to break old strictures, to choose mates, to see movies, to do some of the things they saw on television."

Afghan Red Crescent leader Soraya is a long-time party worker who believes strongly in what the Afghan revolution has done for women.

"Years ago there were no equal rights between men and women," she said. "Women were even sold for marriage. There were no chance for women to work, so they stayed in their houses, maybe only coming out once a year."

"It is 100 percent correct that women are even stronger supporters of the revolution than men because of what the revolution has done for them," she added.

Soraya added, however, that there is more to be done.

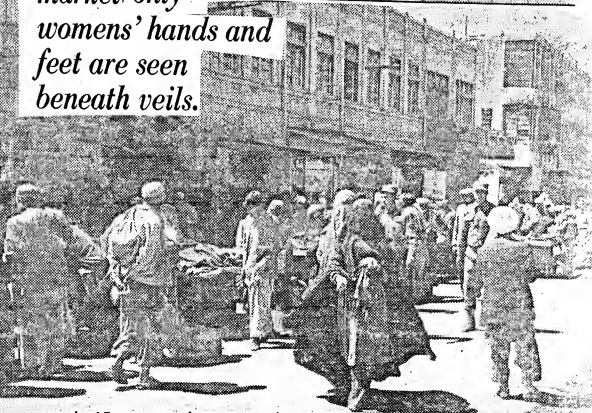
"The goals are there in the party program, but we have to put it in action. In my opinion, every woman has the ability to be anything a man can be, if the ground is prepared We will see in the next generation if we have a woman general secretary of the PDPA or not," she said.

Although she has been a party member since 1964,



Afghan women in western dress walk through the newer sections of Kabul.

In the old city's market only women's hands and feet are seen beneath veils.



only 15 percent of party members are women. There are three on the Central Committee and one on the Politburo.

Some observers said Babrak Karmal, replaced as party leader last year, may have been a stronger supporter of equality for women than his successor, Najibullah.

"You never see his wife" in public, one noted. "He has taken power away from women's groups."

Diplomats and others suggested that much of the change in the role of women is due as much to the necessity of war as to attitudes of the authorities. Large numbers of men have left the country, are in the military or have become war casualties. Just as in the United States during World War II, war is a crucible of change for women here.

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Regardless of the reason, the impact is clear.

Hilali Jalali and Mina Hasani, both 18-year-old first-year students at Kabul University, said they expect to take jobs in teaching, perhaps after studying in the West.

"When I studied at high school, I became very fond of the idea of becoming a teacher so that is why I chose this field," said Mina, the daughter of a military officer.

In the village of Char Asiab, on the outskirts of Kabul, 14-year-old Jamila said she has had no formal education and must spend time caring for her five brothers and four sisters; but she wants to work at a factory.

"I want to study. I want to go to the city to work there. I like the village and I want to live here, but the factories have buses for workers to go in," she says.

When it comes to marriage, more traditional customs still are followed, but with a difference.

Several young people questioned during a recent two-week stay in Afghanistan, including the two young women at Kabul University, said they expected their parents to arrange marriages for them, but not without consulting them.

Some said they are resisting parental pressures to take a spouse.

One young ruling party member, who spoke fondly of sitting with girls under trees during his university days, reverted to traditional patterns when it came time for his engagement.

"I saw a girl at a meeting and got to know her. After six or eight months, I sent the family to talk to her family. It took three or four trips. It was very difficult, but they finally agreed," he said, adding that the wedding is still a few months off to allow time to earn some money.

"We can meet and talk in the meantime, but we have to be careful," he said.

JUNE 16, 1987

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Communists Did Not Liberate Afghan Women

As an Afghan woman who for more than 30 years has been an active participant in the women's movement in Afghanistan and has been a witness to the gradual and steady improvement of women's condition, I was appalled and distressed by Richard Weintraub's distorted and naive exposé in "Revolution Changes Lives of Islamic Women: Communists Roll Back Traditions in Afghanistan" [June 16].

Weintraub's observations contained many distortions and provided an erroneous account of the history of the women's movement in Afghanistan and its evolution prior to the Soviet invasion of 1979. I do not believe that the system imposed by the Soviet-installed communist regime can in any way be termed "liberation." It is equally wrong to imply that the "traditional" Moslem woman has no rights; in fact, Islam was the first major world movement to address the question of women's rights. In Afghanistan, it is a well documented fact that the "traditional" woman has always played a major role within society and especially in the preservation of national independence and freedom.

But the theme that needs to be elaborated on is that the modern women's movement in my country did not originate with the so-called communist "revolution" (which, in fact, was a military coup d'état), but rather in the 1920s under King Amanullah's enhancement program of women's status, which was a major aspect of his political agenda until his overthrow in 1929. The first Afghan girl's school opened in 1925, and I myself was one of its students. Soon afterward, intermediate and high schools were opened and the first women's magazine was published during the same period.

The beginning of King Zahir Shah's reign saw rapid progress and development in the education sector. The first women's college was established in 1948, and I was part of the first class to graduate in 1952. As a result, hundreds of schools were gradually opened in the cities and in the rural areas of the country. Thousands of women began to enter the work force; throughout the years, I have been a witness to Afghan women becoming factory workers, civil servants, nurses, teachers, judges, journalists, writers, business administrators, doctors, diplomats and even politicians.

In 1946, the "Afghan Women's Society" was inaugurated. The society employed more than 2,000 full-time staff and students and became a contact point with various international women's organizations. It published a monthly magazine and opened branches in several Afghan cities. For 13 years I worked in the education and publication department of this organization. In 1964, two women became members of the Counseling Committee in charge of drafting the new Afghan Constitution, and four others, including myself, became members of the Grand Assembly, which adopted the constitution in 1964. This constitution granted the right to vote to all Afghans, including women. I became one of four females to be elected to the first House of Representatives. Between 1965 and 1971, two women were nominated to the Senate and two more were appointed to cabinet ministries.

Afghan women did not and do not need a communist takeover and more than 115,000 Soviet troops to learn about the values of education and participation in the building of their society. They have been doing it all along and are doing so even now, with commitment and dignity, in the refugee camps of Pakistan and among the rubbles of war torn Afghanistan.

THE WASHINGTON POST 7/4 —Rokia Habib

Aid for Afghan Refugees

ROME, June 19 (IRNA) — The U.N. World Food Program (WFP) will soon open an office in Tehran in order to expand its cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran, said the advisor of the WFP secretary general, Verner Schleifer, to IRNA here Friday.

He said that the WFP office is duty-bound to provide the Afghan refugees residing in Iran with assistance. . . .

He also said that WFP has undertaken to supply food to those refugees settled in border camps or villages from its emergency budget.

He added that the assistance amounts to about \$4.6m and covers foods supplies for 400,000 of the total 2.2 million Afghan refugees in Iran for a period of six months.

Meanwhile, eight Afghan Islamic parties and groups issued a statement here Wednesday, announcing their decision to form a coalition. They reiterated to continue their struggle till Afghanistan is liberated from Foreign occupation. . . .

The coalition condemned the recent statements of the Communist rulers of Kabul who disclosed their readiness to negotiate with the ex-king. . . .

The coalition comprises the Afghan Nasr organization, guards of Islamic Jihad of Afghanistan, United Islamic Front of Afghanistan, Islamic Force of Afghanistan, Da'wa Party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan, Islamic Movement of Afghanistan, Islamic Struggle for Afghanistan.

Kayhan Int'l 6/20

Modern samurai wields 'sword' in a foreign war

By Kathy Gannon
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LESS than three years ago, Koshiro Tanaka turned in his dark suit and tie, the uniform of the Japanese office worker, in exchange for a *salwar kameez*, the pajama-like outfit worn by Afghans.

Mr. Tanaka was armed only with his convictions and had had no practical battlefield experience when he joined the *mujahideen* (resistance fighters) in their war against Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

"I didn't know how to fight, how to move," Tanaka says.

But he learned quickly. Accompanying a band of mujahideen on a raid on a government post near Jagdalak, about 25 miles east of Kabul, Tanaka recalls, "I felt a bullet go by my ear. I got a shot of adrenalin."

Since then, Tanaka—a holder of a sixth-degree black belt in karate—has been educating Afghan guerrillas in the use of the martial art in hand-to-hand combat in a war he has embraced as his own. His motive is simple and hard-line: He wants to fight the Soviets. "They [the Soviets] don't want peace, they want land," Tanaka says.

The Japanese government frowns on Tanaka's activities.

and Japan's Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, has warned him about becoming embroiled in the Afghan struggle. But he pays no attention.

Tanaka is exporting his skills and enthusiasm to Afghanistan because a military career is not open to him in Japan. The country's pacifist post-World War II Constitution places great restriction on militarization, and Japan has only a small "defense force."

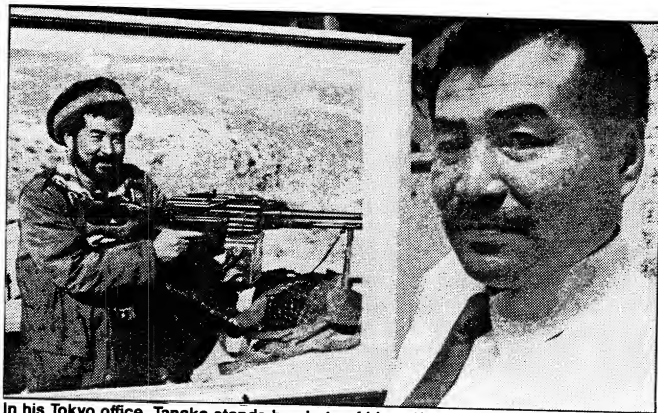
Tanaka criticizes the government and the Constitution for denying Japanese the chance to mount a fighting force to drive the Soviets off the Kuril Islands, an island group northeast of Japan which Japan claims as its own by virtue of proximity and historical ties. When the spoils were divided up at the end of World War II, the Kuril Islands went to the Soviets.

The Afghan Muslim guerrillas fighting their jihad, or holy war, see death as the ticket to martyrdom. While Tanaka doesn't follow the tenets of Islam, his view of death is not much different from that of the Afghans. He sees himself as a potential martyr for Japan. Tanaka sees a passive Japan as an easy target for the Soviet Union in what he terms its grand design for world domination.

Born generations too late, the 46-year-old Tanaka longs for the ancient Japanese samurai traditions. "I hope in my mind that I will have the samurai spirit when it is time to die."

His "death" has been the subject of much propaganda emanating from Kabul. The Afghan government has twice claimed to have killed him. In the February issue of a government publication, *Afghanistan Today*, a full-page spread tells of Tanaka's death during an ambush by government troops.

Since his first trip to Afghanistan in 1985, Tanaka says, he has returned six times. His recently published autobiography, "Soviet Soldiers in a Gun Sight, My



Battle in Afghanistan," details his exploits with the mujahideen.

Sitting in his cubbyhole of an office in Tokyo's Shinjuku district, Tanaka talks of preparations to go to Afghanistan before the end of the summer. When he returns, he will take radios and cameras. But with the exception of a handful of donations, the money will come out of his own pocket.

When he traveled last year to Peshawar, the capital of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, Tanaka took \$10,000 to distribute to the mujahideen. He raises the finances for his activities through a small company he has set up for this purpose. He also says that most of the proceeds from his book will be donated to the mujahideen.

Peshawar is the seat of the Afghan resistance movement. Seven Muslim guerrilla parties that have formed a loose and sometimes fractious alliance have their headquarters there. (An ancient trading center and once the summer home of Afghanistan's royalty, Peshawar is now home to more than 3 million Afghan refugees.)

Tanaka joined up with Jamiat-e Islam, believed to be the second largest of the mujahideen groups, headed by Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani.

The mujahideen he says, "need help, any kind of help. They need weapons, bread, food, anything." Most mujahideen weapons are primitive and antiquated, and these are in short supply, Tanaka says.

On his coming trip, Tanaka intends to travel to the Panjshir Valley, northeast of Kabul. It is a three-week hike from the northern Pakistan town of Chitral over the Hindu Kush mountain range. He says he will link up with one of the few Afghan commanders to secure an international reputation, Ahmed Shah Massoud. Mr. Massoud has studied karate. Tanaka says, but "he's not so good."

A poster-size picture of the Afghan commander hangs alone in the center of one wall in Tanaka's office. On the other walls, crowding each other for space, are

posters in several languages, portraying the Afghans' seven-year struggle to rid their country of Soviet occupation.

Alongside the posters of homeless women and children, Kalashnikov-wielding mujahideen, and victims of bombing raids, is a handful of articles in various languages about Tanaka's exploits in Afghanistan.

Although Japanese right-wing organizations, which should see in Tanaka a kindred spirit, donated money for the Afghans last year, he says the source has all out dried up.

Tanaka was once a member of such a group, but now, disillusioned by their lack of support, he says, "They are just for themselves. It's just a lot of noise."

A visible and vocal group in Japan, the far-right groups cruise Tokyo streets in mesh-encased vans. A megaphone atop the truck blasts out their slogans, adding to the city's already overwhelming noise pollution. The Soviet Embassy in Tokyo has been a regular target of their threats and violence. Riot police in armored vehicles sit at either end of the street where the embassy is.

At a recent reception to launch his book, Tanaka regaled a gathering of about 40 with stories of Afghanistan. The audience was a mix of socially prominent Japanese, reporters, and businessmen. All listened as Tanaka railed against the Soviet Union, nodding their heads, applauding occasionally.

As his guests arrived, Tanaka's wife, Takiko, stood beside him, showing her support, but dreading his departure. With the assistance of an interpreter, Mrs. Tanaka admitted she doesn't understand her husband's zeal for the Afghan mujahideen and his answers have left her none the wiser. She says she has tried to stop him, but to no avail.

Two years ago Mrs. Tanaka traveled to Peshawar with her husband. The crowded streets, open sewers, and bazaars were in stark contrast to Tokyo. But she says she felt Peshawar's charm. And when her husband is there, waiting to go inside Afghanistan, her memories of the city bring her a little closer to him.

Will she read his book? There's no hesitation. "I think it's better for me not to read it."

DIPLOMAT ACCUSED

A high-ranking Afghan diplomat on his way to buy an air-conditioner at an appliance store in Queens has been accused of running a woman in a dispute over a parking space.

The diplomat, according to State Department officials, is Shah Mohammad Dost, the former Foreign Minister of Afghanistan and now his country's envoy to the United Nations.

Mr. Dost was described as one of the most important United Nations diplomats and a key figure in the world body's attempts to negotiate an end to the war in Afghanistan.

The woman he is accused of hitting was identified as Margaret Curry, who was taken to Flushing Hospital and treated for cuts and bruises after the incident on Sunday. United States officials said Mr. Dost had been on his way to a store in Flushing when the incident occurred.

Several telephone calls yesterday seeking comment from the Afghan Mission to the United Nations were not returned.

According to the United States officials, the incident involving Mr. Dost took place at about 2:15 P.M. on the corner of 57th Avenue and Main Street in Flushing as Ms. Curry, of 97-11 Horace Harding Expressway, in Rego Park, stood by the curb holding a parking space for her boyfriend, who was backing into the spot.

Mr. Dost, behind the wheel of his 1978 Lincoln, drove up, identified himself as an Afghan diplomat, and mistook Ms. Curry give him the space.

According to Ms. Curry's version of events, Mr. Dost started insulting her and then drove his car into her, striking her and sending her scrambling out of the road, the officials said.

Ms. Curry was taken by ambulance to Flushing Hospital, where she was treated for cuts and bruises. A United States official said. She later filed a complaint over the incident at the 109th police precinct in Flushing, officials said.

Afghans' Denial

The Afghans have denied that Mr. Dost rammed Ms. Curry or drove his car toward her. In their version of the story, Ms. Curry suffered her injuries when she was excited and tripped as she left the street. United States officials said.

NYT 7/7

SUPERIORITY 'SHORT-LIVED'
FOR AFGHAN GUERRILLAS
SCMP 7/17

MOSCOW: Afghan guerrillas fighting Kabul's Soviet-backed Government had gained a "short-lived superiority" because of their access to modern weapons such as US Stinger missiles, a Soviet official admitted yesterday.

The US-backed guerrillas had managed to inflict "additional casualties" on Soviet and Afghan army troops, Mr Boris Piadyshev, a spokesman for the Deputy Foreign Ministry, said in Moscow.

Mr Piadyshev commented on the renewal by Afghan authorities of a six-month unilateral ceasefire which started on January 15, said that the six months had seen stepped-up military activity by the rebels, who had received "increased military supplies" from the United States — including anti-aircraft Stinger missiles.

"Of course, this created additional difficulties for the Afghan army and Soviet troops, which led to additional casualties among Afghan and Soviet troops and the air force," Mr Piadyshev said, confirming Western reports of the rebels' effective use of the missiles.

He added that "corresponding measures" were being taken to reduce the supplies of such weapons "and this short-lived superiority is being neutralised presently".

He did not elaborate.

Mr Piadyshev said that during the first phase of the ceasefire — which has just been renewed until next January 15 — Soviet tanks had been at their bases in secure positions.

He expressed "concern and grief" that "the other side made use of the unilateral ceasefire by Afghan and Soviet troops to exercise military pressure on the Afghan Government".

Mr Piadyshev stressed that a political solution was the only way to a settlement in Afghanistan, where the Soviet Union maintains an estimated 115,000 troops.

"When will it be possible to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan? The answer is that it depends on the United States," he said, repeating that US support for the rebels was an obstacle to a settlement.

"US policy is leading Afghanistan into a deadlock situation."

Mr Piadyshev said that the Afghan leader, Najibullah, had in a national broadcast on Tuesday renewed an invitation to opposition groups, including monarchist supporters, to negotiate the formation of a coalition government.

He was offering to "share power with whoever is interested in national reconciliation", Mr Piadyshev said.

Rebel groups based in Pakistan have rejected attempts to draw them into the reconciliation process.

—Agency France Presse.

Soviet Soldiers Killed In Guerrilla Attack

Islamabad, June 8 (AFP): Mujahideen fighters killed 42 (forty-two) Soviet officers and pilots in a rocket attack in the southern Afghan city of Kandahar to avenge the death of a top rebel leader killed last week, the pro-rebel Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) said Sunday.

The AIP report, quoted rebel chief Abdul Razik as saying his men fired 90 (ninety) rockets on Kandahar's airport on Friday. Two helicopters laden with ammunition exploded and six jets parked nearby caught fire.

The blaze spread to a Soviet barracks killing 42

(forty-two) officers and pilots, including nine Soviet advisors and five airmen. AIP said quoting Abdul Razik, the rebels' chief in the southern Kandahar province.

Eleven Afghan officers and soldiers were also killed.

The attack was launched to avenge the death of top Mujahideen leader Mohammed Ishaq who was killed in fighting around Kandahar on Wednesday at the age of 27 (twenty-seven) when a shell hit his headquarters.

Mr. Ishaq, whose nom-de-guerre was Lala Malang, had led the Hizb Islami

(Islamic Party) guerrilla movement since the start of the Afghan war.

In 1984 he was arrested and condemned to death but was freed, in February and exchanged for a Soviet artillery soldier.

Soviet and Afghan troops launched an offensive last month against Kandahar to dislodge guerrillas from the region. Western diplomatic sources have said that as many as 1,000 (one thousand) Afghan troops were killed or wounded by Tuesday, when the fighting entered its second week.

When blood flows only from the bullet

If they are lucky, Afghan war-wounded end up at the hospital in Peshawar, Pakistan, run by the International Committee for the Red Cross where they are operated on by British and Finnish surgical teams.

There are a few cross-border ambulances, some of them loaned to the Mujahideen guerrillas by Western aid agencies, which in the last year or so have helped to speed up medical evacuation, despite the risk of mines and ambushes by Soviet commands.

But many who finally make Peshawar after nerve-jarring journeys across mountain ranges have festering wounds inflicted two weeks before. They are almost invariably accompanied by relatives, one of whom is allowed to stay with them, sometimes sleeping alongside the patient as is the local custom.

Yet although these Afghans can be extremely helpful when it comes to fetching a bed pan and giving morale support, the Swiss and other Westerners working at the 100-bed hospital have been amazed at the reluctance of their kith and kin to give blood for transfusions.

The problem is that the majority of the wounded are illiterate peasants who have been taught by rural mullahs that blood taken from the body cannot be replaced, not even in the paradise that awaits good Muslims.

"Some of these people have never seen a hospital before," said Mandy Cooper, an Australian from Adelaide who works in the hospital's small laboratory.

"It is simply a matter of fear. Our Afghan liaison people can work on them and persuade them that it won't hurt and the body will make fresh blood to replace

what has been taken, but if they have been told not to give blood by a mullah then it is almost always impossible to get them to change their minds."

At one point the blood shortage became so serious that it had to be imported despite the presence of three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

The hospital, which is housed in a former post office building, has also come under criticism from the more traditional elements among the Afghan resistance for carrying out too many amputations.

"They say do it because we are Christians and don't care if a person enters paradise without an arm or a leg," said Dominik Landwehr, a young Swiss public relations officer with the ICRC. "Sometimes a relative will refuse to allow an amputation and a patient will die."

—Observer.

By COLIN SMITH

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST JULY 13, 1987

Amnesty Representatives Take Concerns To Afghan Embassy

In mid-March an Amnesty International USA delegation delivered a three-thousand signature petition calling for an end to torture in Afghanistan to the Afghan Charge d'Affaires in Washington.

The meeting was the first ever between the United States section of Amnesty International and any delegate of the Republic of Afghanistan. It highlighted a campaign that Amnesty members across the United States had carried out since November as part of an international campaign to focus world public attention on the torture of political prisoners in Afghan detention centers.

Amnesty International launched its worldwide campaign on November 19, calling on Afghan authorities to set up a public inquiry into all complaints and reports of torture by Afghan security forces. It also urged the government to introduce effective measures to ensure the safety of detainees and to prevent further torture and urged that, where an act of torture has been committed, Afghan authorities should bring criminal proceedings against the offender.

In launching the campaign, Amnesty also appealed to Soviet authorities to investigate reports that Soviet personnel, acting as advisors in Afghanistan, are also involved in torture.

Amnesty USA also requested a meeting with Soviet Embassy officials to present the organization's concerns.

More than 60 local groups across the U.S. took part in the campaign which concluded in February. They circulated petitions and wrote letters to both Afghan and Soviet officials. They also approached newspapers in their own communities to focus editorial attention on torture in Afghanistan. Many groups reported that they were successful in having editorials or op-ed articles concerning the issue printed in their local press. The Amnesty local group in La Jolla, California presented a panel discussion on human rights violations in Afghanistan on January 15.

Another important component to the U.S. campaign involved soliciting the support of local churches and community organizations to speak out. Amnesty members approached leaders of organizations in the U.S. which might have particular influence with Afghan officials. Amnesty asked these leaders to express their concern about torture to Afghan authorities. . . .

Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil announced on March 3 that his government would permit Felix Ermacora, Special UN Rapporteur on Afghanistan, to enter and tour the country in order to carry out a fact-finding mission and to study allegations of human rights abuse.

Amnesty continues to monitor the situation and to urge Afghan authorities to take specific steps to end torture and prevent future torture of political detainees. The organization's concerns in Afghanistan also include reports of extrajudicial executions carried out by Soviet troops supported by Afghan military personnel, the imprisonment of thousands of political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience; and the imposition of the death penalty. ■

Amnesty Action.

Page 4, June/July, 1987

TRININGAL 6/9

A series of articles by British journalist Alan Pimm-Smith appeared in the PT in April & May. Excerpts follow:

I had now been at the border camp for two days. The three other journalists had already left for a three-day trip, and I half expected to be still at the camp by the time they returned. Commander Baz Muhammad had gone back to Peshawar for some reason or another, which meant there could be another long delay.

The camp was a simple mud-walled enclosure stuck on a barren hillside about a mile from the border in Northern Waziristan. The local inhabitants were tribal Pushtuns, mostly nomadic, who had never paid much attention to national governments, whether Afghan or Pakistani, nor to such notions as national boundaries...

All morning the Mujahideen were busy cleaning guns, sorting out blankets and sleeping bags, and generally getting things ready for the journey. I counted about 100 brand-new automatic rifles — Chinese — manufactured Kalashnikovs — a couple of heavy machine guns, a multiple-barrelled rocket launcher (MBRL), several bazookas (RPGs), and any number of rockets and ground-to-ground missiles. The Kalashnikovs were caked in grease and had to be dipped in oil drums of boiling water before being stripped down and meticulously cleaned...

The Mujahideen were Tajiks from Baghlan in northern Afghanistan. Racially they were quite distinct from the local Pushtuns, being thicker-set and having broad, slant-eyed Mongolian features typical of Central Asia. The Pushtuns, in contrast, had lean, aquiline features. The Tajiks were also distinct linguistically, speaking Farsi rather than Pushto.

Afghan society comprises numerous distinct ethnic groups, a fact which accounts in part for the age-long difficulty of establishing an effective centralised government in the country. These differences also account to some extent for the current factionalism found both amongst the Mujahideen and the Communists. The war, however, is said to be gradually breaking down these racial division. The fact that Baz Muhammad and his men were Tajiks yet subscribed to a predominantly Pushtun political party — the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan — would seem to substantiate this claim.

Certainly, the Baghlan men got on very well with their Pushtun hosts. During the morning while they were cleaning their guns, one

of the local lads, a kuchi (nomad) camel driver, kept everyone entertained with comic banter about the comparative merits of the two groups.

"You people call yourselves men? You say you are Mujahideen? Why, you don't even know how to fight. When the Russians drop their bombs you cry like babies, and if they come in their tanks you run away and hide."

I hardly needed a translator to get the gist of what he was saying, for he acted it all out, crouching behind a pile of sleeping bags, trembling with pretended fright and weeping pitifully.

Comically enough, he was hardly more than a boy himself. I recognised him from last year, when he would appear with his camel as if from nowhere after each Mujahideen missile attack. As soon as the rocket launcher was dismantled, he would load it on to his camel and take it away to a hideout in the mountains.

"If you children want to learn about fighting, just stay here for a few weeks and watch us. Why Dad Mir Khan, our leader, was fearless. See that Russian lorry outside, he captured that. And see that tank over there, he captured that, and destroyed 20 more beside."

With the wheel-barrow werving as make-believe tanks and his camel stick as a grenade launcher, he routed the enemy. The men from Baghlan took it all in good part and, being horsemen themselves, simply told him to go back to his camels. . . .

4/1

Though I was not a Muslim, I was never made to feel unwelcome in any of the mosques I entered during my five-week journey through Afghanistan. Only on one occasion did one of the imams admonish me, good naturedly, for sleeping while everyone else attended Friday morning prayers. I was next door to the mosque at the time. As everyone left the mosque the imam came over to talk to me. He was an enormous barrel of a man who always carried a 303 rifle slung over his shoulder.

"Did you sleep well?" he asked, speaking in Arabic for my benefit.

"You will remember to pray on Sunday, won't you?" he added.

He was a very jolly character in a formidable sort of way. Another of his jokes, at my expense, was to tell everyone that England was

ruled by three women — Ali Zabet, Ma Garef and Bibi See. He was rather pleased with this joke, though I couldn't work it out at first. Actually, it was quite amusing — he was referring to Queen Elizabeth, Margaret Thatcher and the BBC. "Bibi" means wife and is used as a title rather like "Mrs," which is appropriate enough, for in Britain we sometimes refer to that august establishment as "Auntie BBC."

I must say the village imams I met in Afghanistan all struck me as very courageous men. At the time of the Communist takeover eight years ago, a great number of these men were executed because they stood in the way of the revolution. Today they still run very great risks, especially in the flat settled areas where the government forces exercise a considerable degree of control. On more than one occasion we took refuge in village mosques while helicopter gunships patrolled low overhead.

5/13

Loyalties tend to be localised in Afghanistan and, despite the war, are still largely based on traditional grounds, whether of race, language, tribe or family affiliation. Commander Baz Mohammed himself is a malik, or chief, and so is as much concerned with the social welfare of the villagers as with their protection. Baz Mohammed's village lies in a valley that cuts through the central Hindu Kush mountains. Like much of Afghanistan, the valley and its tributaries have formidable natural defences and so lie wholly outside the control of the Kabul government.

In many respects village life carries on much as always. Most households own or have a share in some land, the main crops being maize and rice, in addition to which mulberries, apples, apricots, walnuts and almonds are grown. There is even a village school whose curriculum and text books are produced by a Mujahideen cultural office in Pakistan.

Most of the countryside in Afghanistan is in fact free from government control, though all of it is subject to aerial bombardment and periodic ground assaults. Baz Mohammed's own house, a typical mud-walled village dwelling, was destroyed by bombs some months previously, and a few years ago he lost a son in another attack.

But the valley has managed to hold out against ground assaults and is secure enough to provide a home for internal refugees from areas close to the Russian border. These refugees, over 400 families in all, have put extra pressure on the region's limited resources, and what is needed now is money rather than weapons. . . .

MY original intention was to accompany a couple of French journalists on my return to Pakistan. They had recently been in the Bamian area and were helping escort a wounded French nurse back to safety.

The nurse, named Denise, worked for the French humanitarian agency Aide Medicale Internationale (AMI) and had set up a medical clinic in the mountains near Bamian. She had been working with a Mujahideen medical team in the area for a couple of months when her clinic was bombed by the Russians.

As it happened, their carvan passed me during the night and I never got the chance to meet nurse Denise. But I later learned that she had been very seriously wounded and was in a critical condition.

Some days later, I met several French medics working in Wardak province in central Afghanistan. They had treated Denise and told me she was likely to lose the use of one lung, and that her face and arms were embedded with shrapnel. Apparently, she was looked after by an Afghan doctor in a primitive mountain clinic for two weeks before she was strong enough to start her gruelling 320-km. return journey to Pakistan.

Not long after leaving Bamian we entered an area controlled by a rival Mujahideen party. On our outward journey they had demanded the payment of several missiles before allowing our party to pass through their territory. They now learned that a Western journalist was present and called me in for questioning.

My five companions were young, inexperienced and unarmed, and a little nervous about this particular group, partly rivalry having flared into armed conflict on more than one occasion in the past. It was a wild enough place some 14,000 feet up in the mountains.

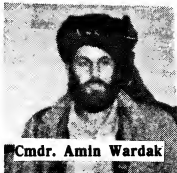
Armed men hung around a row of shacks that clung to the mountainside. As well as tea houses for passing Mujahideen, I noticed a "pharmacy" that had hand grenades on display in its dingy shop front, along with

aspirins and other medicines.

In fact we were treated with the utmost courtesy. I was asked my opinions about a whole range of matters, from the Iranian revolution to President Reagan's "star wars" policy. I answered as truthfully and diplomatically as possible, and was officially welcomed by their spokesman.

4/29

... Our reason for coming this way was to find Commander Amin Wardak, a well-known Mujahideen leader whom my companions hoped would provide us with transport back to Pakistan. I was interested in coming this way because I had heard there was a clinic in the area run by a group of French medics. ...



Cmdr. Amin Wardak

The Wardak brothers both emphasised the importance of social welfare programmes. Though the Mujahideen's main objective was to force a Russian withdrawal, it was also necessary, they said, for the Mujahideen to look after the needs of the people.

As an example, they cited the work of the French medical team whose clinic was founded and maintained with their support and protection. There were four French medics and one veterinary doctor currently working with a group of Afghan medics in the area.

In addition, Amin Wardak's group supported various agricultural projects which were administered by a Paris-trained Afghan agronomist named Najib.

I met Najib a number of times during the next few days. He was a delightfully humorous character, full of ideas and enthusiasm for the improvement of agriculture and living conditions in the area. One of his crazier inventions was a manually-operated washing machine. It was a wooden box with a massive handle which had to be pushed and pulled with enormous effort. I never got to see the internal workings of this contraption. ...

More seriously he had introduced modern threshing machines, bought with money provided by the French organisation *Gulde Europeenne* due Raid (GER). As a result, a job

that previously took the local farmers one month to do could now be done in a day.

Other schemes devised by Najib and supported financially by GER included a "wheat bank." The bank bought surplus grain from the farmers, which was then stored for the winter and distributed among poor families in the area. Richer members of the community could also buy the wheat, so that the project became financially self-sufficient. ...

There were five French medics at Commander Amin Wardak's base in the Jagtalu valley. Three doctors and a nurse were members of *Medecins du Monde*, one of several humanitarian organisations working with the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, while the fifth was a vet working for *Veterinaires sans Frontières*.

Francis, the senior doctor in the group, told me that *Medecins du Monde* has operated a clinic in Wardak province for the past five years. He said that about 100 French doctors and nurses had worked at the clinic during that time, with a new team of four or five medics taking over every three months. The organisation covered their food and travel expenses, but otherwise they were unpaid. He stressed that *Medecins du Monde* had no political aims, but was simply a humanitarian organisation concerned with providing medical aid in areas of need throughout the world.

Francis spoke very highly of the young Afghan medics working with them. These were young Mujahideen who had been selected by their commanders for medical training in Peshawar, Pakistan. In Peshawar they received elementary medical training for six months, after which they worked in the war zone with French doctors for a further six months. They then returned to Pakistan for further training. By the end of the course they were competent nurses able to diagnose and treat most of the common ailments of the villagers, as well as treat wounds and carry out minor surgery such as removing shrapnel or bullets from limbs.

The clinic itself was situated in a relatively quiet part of the country some distance from any Communist garrison or strategic route. The Soviets clearly knew of its existence as the recent bombing raid showed. In fact, Commander Amin Wardak reckoned that as a result of years of aerial survey work, the Soviets probably knew the whereabouts of most Mujahideen centres throughout the country. The clinic, he said, had been bombed once before and they had moved it to a

new site. The chances are that it would be bombed again before long. As the French doctors pointed out, every single medical clinic in Afghanistan had been bombed at one time or another during the war.

The nearby Jagtalu valley was still inhabited, though only three months previously the Soviets had launched a ground attack against it supported by massive aerial bombardment. When I got back to Pakistan I saw a video film made during the assault by a young French couple who were working on an agricultural project in the valley.

Edouard and Domitille had just got married and were on their honeymoon at the time. They spent much of it hiding in caves as the jets pounded the villages below. I saw on film an old man beside himself with grief outside the smoking ruins of his mud house. He had just lost his wife and four children.

Edouard's home movie also showed fields full of "butterfly" anti-personnel mines. These were curious bulbous objects, shaped rather like an aeroplane and bright green in colour. They lay scattered on the surface of the ground and were presumably designed to attract the attention of

young child. About 15 local children lost hands and legs as a result of playing with these "toys" in the film, the villagers were seen throwing stones at the mines in order to explode them. ...

By mid-afternoon a dust storm was brewing which meant we could start walking well before dusk, visibility being much reduced. We were still a bit keyed up though and ready to read the worst into any uncertain situation. As we were about to leave the mosque we heard what we thought was a helicopter. One could just make out the sound of the engines above the wind rushing through the trees. It sounded very low and very close.

"Helicopter!" said someone. "Helicopter!" repeated the next.

There was no point in waiting around if they were coming into the village, so we moved out in twos and several minutes apart. It was a tense situation at the time, but comical in retrospect. As we crept around one of the outer walls of the village what we saw was not a Soviet gunship, but a farmer ploughing the fields with a tractor. It was the first and only tractor I saw in five weeks in Afghanistan.

The Pakistan Times 5/1

Soviet Veterans Face Scorn, Pravda Says

MOSCOW—Soviet veterans of the war in Afghanistan often face scorn and indifference from bureaucrats at home, while comrades slain in battle are ignored by the media and their tombstones do not say how they died, a newspaper account said Wednesday.

The Communist Party daily *Pravda* printed excerpts of letters from relatives, World War II veterans and other people on the treatment of young men who served in Afghanistan.

The excerpts were accompanied by a *Pravda* commentary. In keeping with the Kremlin policy of *glasnost*, or openness, launched under Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev, *Pravda* acknowledged that the Soviet press had been unprepared to cover the Afghan conflict as it became obvious that the war would drag on for a long time.

"For several years, our press wrote just about friendship trees planted by Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, about Soviet doctors helping Afghan women in labor while the Afghan army routed the 'rebels,'" it said.

At least 115,000 Soviet servicemen are now deployed in Afghanistan, helping the Kabul government combat a widespread Muslim insurgency.

The official indifference or even hostility that *Pravda* said returning Soviet soldiers encounter echoes the experiences of many American veterans of the Vietnam War.

'I Didn't Send You'

Several *Pravda* readers wrote that many of the Soviet returnees asking for help are dismissed by their countrymen with the retort: "I didn't send you to Afghanistan!"

Anatoly N. Shevchenko, a construction worker from the Byelorussian city of Koveli whose son Yuri was killed in action in November, said the young sergeant's gravestone only lists his name, birth date and the date of his death. "Why is it forbidden to write that he died fulfilling his internationalist duty in Afghanistan?" wrote Shevchenko.

A Volgograd woman, Lyubov S. Yarovaya, wrote: "I can't understand why on monuments which by the way, are put up at state expense, it's forbidden to mention that a soldier died in fulfilling his internationalist duty."

One resident of the Crimean port of Sevastopol wrote that his brother-in-law, an army engineer, stepped on a mine in Afghanistan and had a leg blown off and an arm shattered.

Vladimir Y. Sheleg said his brother finally found work back home because a factory director proved to be a "heartfelt man," but he was still looking for a place to live.

But before he found work, Soviet doctors downgraded the wounded soldier from a second-class invalid to a third-class invalid, a move that reduced the veteran's government and pension benefits, Sheleg wrote.

Los Angeles Times

8/6

Afghan War's Strains Taking a Toll On Refugees, Especially the Children

LETTER FROM PESHAWAR

By MARY WILLIAMS WALSH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PESHAWAR, Pakistan — Mohammad Azam Dadfar runs a psychiatric clinic for Afghan refugees on a narrow street at the edge of this dusty border city. For the past two years, each day has brought him patients who can't sleep, can't talk, can't look up from the floor.

There are distraught widows, beaten wives, children who pull out their hair or pound their heads against the walls. Dr. Dadfar believes he is working with the world's biggest population of post-traumatic-stress syndrome victims since World War II.

For months now, Soviet leaders have indicated that they want to end the war in Afghanistan. Dr. Dadfar—and many in the West—hope they mean it. But now that the talk is of a political settlement, and not a military victory, Dr. Dadfar wonders if the Afghan resistance is up to it.

"Most of our intellectuals have left the country; they live in the United States or Europe," he says. "The people who are fighting inside Afghanistan are mostly illiterate. The parents in the refugee camps are mentally and psychologically destroyed. The children all expect to fight the Russians when they get big."

Officials in the U.S., the Soviet Union and Pakistan talk of making a coalition between the Afghan resistance and the nation's Soviet-backed government. But conversations with refugee leaders like Dr. Dadfar suggest that Afghanistan's social fabric is too badly torn to be stitched back together that way. A visitor to the camps gets the feeling that if a coalition were imposed on these people, the killing would only continue.

* * *

Children make up nearly half the refugee population. A recent study showed that Afghan refugee women have by far the highest birth rate in the world. The children in the camps are fed a steady diet of war; there is little else in their lives.

To show the consequences, Dr. Dadfar takes a visitor to a refugee-camp school. The camp is a wasteland of mud houses, wind-blown dust and fierce mosquitoes. The school is a mud box with one room for girls and another for boys. There are no chairs or desks; the six- and seven-year-olds sit on worn rugs spread on the ground. In the boys' room, there isn't even a teacher on this day. A nine-year-old leads the class.

When the visitors enter, the boys spring to their feet and utter what sounds like a high-pitched battle cry. "Their education is very militaristic," says Dr. Dadfar apologetically, explaining that the fierce shout was, in fact, a greeting.



But when Dr. Dadfar tries to single the boys out to talk one by one, they become paralyzed by shyness. They stare at the ground and whisper one-word answers. When asked about their futures, they say, "holly war," or "I don't know."

"It's a defense mechanism," says Dr. Dadfar. "They are encapsulated within themselves, like autistic children. They will grow up with injured personalities."

* * *

Until two months ago, Abdul Rahim Yasir was teaching English literature at Kabul University. He says he kept his opinions about the regime more or less to himself until the day he taught a class on Macbeth. The class discussion blossomed into a heated political debate, he recalls, and later, a dean took him aside and told him he was in trouble. Mr. Yasir fled to Pakistan with his kindergarten-teacher wife and their two small children.

"In the short time I've been here, I've got the impression that the elites are either gone (to Western countries) or are in the process of leaving," he says. "Very few of those who stay have the opportunity of entering good schools. In the camps, there isn't much attention given to education, other than by the mullahs in the mosques, or fathers teaching their children about religion."

Meanwhile, inside Afghanistan, he says, the regime has been selecting thousands of six- to ten-year-olds and sending them to study in the Soviet Union for seven to ten years. Other youngsters get chosen for visits of a few months with families in Soviet Central Asia. When they come back, he says, they appear on Afghan television, telling about their trips. His own children used to love the shows.

Mr. Yasir despairs of the two groups of young people coexisting in a post-war Afghanistan.

* * *

In the years before the Soviet invasion, women in urban Afghanistan held jobs as police, doctors, teachers and government officials. Many had abandoned the veil.

But when the Soviets arrived, communist teaching came to be linked in the public mind with women's advancement. Women who opposed the foreign intervention found they had to oppose women's rights, too.

A few refugee women are trying to preserve the kind of life they knew inside Afghanistan. One is Tajwar Kakar, a former school headmistress. She had to give up her work when she moved to Pakistan two years ago—but what really bothered her was the lack of girls' schooling beyond the third grade. Only seven girls had made it to the sixth grade in the refugee schools at the time. Girls' schools set up by relief groups were taken over by boys.

Mrs. Kakar feared a generation of female lives being wasted. She convinced a relief agency to conduct a survey to find out if the refugees might tolerate a secondary school for girls. The survey team encountered death threats and red-baiting, but after seven months, the answer came back yes.

Today the school has 58 high-school girls. Its teachers contend that restrictions on women are only an imposition of refugee life, not an element of Islamic faith.

But meanwhile, the top Afghan resistance leader insists that in a post-war Afghanistan, only men will have the vote.

WJ

7/7



WHAT DO AFGHAN REFUGEES THINK?

The Afghan Information Centre conducted a survey among Afghan refugees in camps in Pakistan from 1/15/87 - 7/17/87.

What follows is extracted from the AICMB # 76, July 1987:

It is the first survey of its kind but still needs to be followed by a 2nd & 3rd inside Afghanistan & among Afghan refugees in Iran. Our male research team was not able to interview women in the camps but we hope to do this in the 2nd phase of the survey.

The questions asked: 1. Do you wish to go back to Afghanistan? If so, on what conditions? 2. Do you accept or reject the ceasefire offer of the Kabul regime? 3. Do you accept or reject the national reconciliation policy initiated by Najib? To these 3 questions the answers were unanimous: "We want to go back if there are no more Russian troops in Afghanistan & a communist regime in Kabul." The ceasefire and national reconciliation were rejected.

Question 4. Who would you like to be the national leader of Afghanistan?

Former King Zaher Shah - 71.65%

A pure Islamic state - 12.50%

Anybody Muslim & Afghan - 10.30%

One of the resistance commanders - Massoud,

Abdul Haq, Farid, etc. 1.75%

One of the leaders of the political organizations .45%

No opinion 3.35%

2,000 men were interviewed representing 23 of the 28 provinces of Afghanistan

155 women living in Peshawar were interviewed. Their answers were tabulated separately. To the 1st 3 questions their answers were the same as those given by the men. To the 4th question:

Zahir Shah - 50.32%

Muslim & Afghan - 35.48%

Rabani - 5.16%

Gailani - 3.87%

Hekmatyar - 1.58%

Nabi - 1.29%

Mujadeddi - 1.29%

Most of the men interviewed were Pashtuns, most of the women were Tajiks.

NUMBERS OF ANOTHER SORT

The Afghan Aid Association, Shaheen Town, Jamal Road St. #5, Peshawar, treated 2,359 patients in July.

Upper respiratory infections	306
Bronchitis	262
Pulmonary TB	12
TB Adenitis	16
Gastritis	92
Dysentery	93
Typhoid	8
Other G.I. disorders	118
Liver ailments	32
Genito-Urinary disease	114
Psychoneurosis	75
Rheumatic diseases	42
Eye disease	66
Ear disease	80
Skin disease	78
Wounds, burns, abscesses	33
Malnutrition	10
Vitamin deficiency	30
Anemia	72
Fever of unknown origin	17
Measles	29
Parasites	53
Whooping cough	24
Polio	4
Mumps	15
Scabies	100
Gastroenteritis	267
Malaria	245
Others	31

Patients referred to hospital 35

Patients over 12 years old 1,104

Patients 6-12 years old 561

Patients under 6 years of age 693

Dr. Saadat Shagiwal directs the Afghan Aid Assn. (GPO Box 299, Peshawar, Pakistan. A/c #711, Nouthia Branch, Habib Bank Ltd., Peshawar.)

From "Russia's Restless Youth"
by Bill Keller in the NYT Sunday Magazine, 7/26:

At least half a million young men have served in Afghanistan, an estimated 12,000 have died, and many more have returned with injuries, drug habits or deepened cynicism. Millions have listened to the young Afghanistan veteran in the movie "Is

It Easy to Be Young?" who muses, "The feeling will remain with me that I have been involved in something dirty, something not really human." There may be no visible protest, but there is a deterioration of official credibility.

IT'S a long and winding road to Munda refugee camp in Pakistan, some 10 kilometres from the border with Afghanistan. The road is rugged and the terrain is parched. The heat is sweltering; sometimes it is 40 degrees in the shade. How exhausting it must be to trek all those days and months to this barren corner. Yet, it is a safe haven, and the refugee influx continues unabated.

Munda is actually one of the numerous refugee camps to be found in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. Since 1979, refugees from neighbouring Afghanistan have poured in to escape from foreign occupation of their country, and it is the Pakistani government which has adopted a lenient policy of granting them temporary asylum. There are now some three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the largest case-load in Asia.

The group of visitors, to which I belonged, consisted of academics from Belgium, Sweden and South-east Asia. We were there to witness, first hand, the lifestyle of refugees, some of whom had been in Pakistan since 1979.

Our trip actually started in Peshawar, a major town in the NWFP and a crossroad of many cultures. On arrival at the airport, we were met by a lady who took us to the local hotel. It was rather incongruous to hear Michael Jackson's "Billy Jean" out of the blue when we arrived at the hotel to leave our luggage before proceeding to the refugee camp. So, music has no barriers!

En route to the camp, there were mules, camels and cats on the road, intermingling with cars and richly decorated lorries resembling all those *rot sib lor* (10-wheelers) in Thailand. There were even motorised tri-shaws similar to the infamous *tuk-tuks* that you find in Bangkok. I could not help noticing also a sign that pointed to the "Khyber Pass." Through that did Alexander the Great come?

On the side of the road, there were tents all along the way. These sheltered a number of refugees who were scattered all over the province. The refugees seemed to adapt well to the new environment. No doubt, they could feel at home with the thought that they could move around freely and even seek employment in the neighbouring towns. Although numerous camps have been set up all over Pakistan, the Pakistani government has not

confined the refugees to these camps, and there is generally freedom of movement for them.

On arrival at Munda, what struck me initially was the vast expanse of the terrain providing refuge to some 50,000 Afghans. There was a hinterland of mountains that seemed to stretch for miles on end, behind which was to be found the land of Afghanistan. Yes, it was over those mountains that the refugees had trekked to escape from the ravages of war in their homeland.

The new homes for refugees consisted partly of tents and partly of houses that the refugees themselves had built since their arrival. Mud bricks were visibly the most common material used and these

were often mixed with straw for roofing purposes. Although cool inside such abode, one could not help imagining the havoc that would be caused by a sudden downpour of rain. There would then be many leaky roofs and damp interiors.

I met the international and national personnel in charge of the camp before paying a visit to individual houses. There was a problem of clean drinking water, although there was a river nearby which helped to alleviate the problem of water for other uses. There was also a severe medical problem; many refugees were suffering from skin diseases due partly to the heat and inappropriate clothing. This was compounded by the tradition of "purdah" whereby women were kept apart from men and were kept hidden from view in many situations. This implied that it was difficult for Afghan refugee women to resort to doctors, of their own free will, for medical check-up.

A casual stroll around the camp was eye-opening. There were so many children, but so few male adults. The latter had, no doubt, remained behind in Afghanistan or had returned there in order to wage the "Jihad" or the Holy War.

The inhabitants of the camp were of the Pushtun race and spoke Pushto. They were fortunate in that the local population was also of the same ethnic group, which helped to ensure that hospitality would be liberally offered to incoming refugees.

They all wore colourful costumes. The women wore knee-length dresses and pantaloons underneath. In public, they would invariably be veiled. The men wore long shirts and pantalons, topped with bulky and rounded headdresses. Moustaches and beards were their trademark, and with few exceptions, the men would carry weapons. By contrast, the children ran around freely in the camp without veil or other heavy headdress. One could not help noticing the attractive Eurasian features and the bright physiognomy that all the children seemed to have in their own

carefree way.

One of the camp personnel told me that several men from the camp had gone to a town in the vicinity to find work. This accounted for the absence of men, although evidently a number had also returned home for Jihad. At the local level, several male refugees were able to find jobs relatively easily because of shortage of labour in certain areas; for example, as farm labourers and as substitutes for Pakistanis who had left to seek employment in the Middle East.

As for the women, many of them had taken up carpet-weaving again. In the mud huts, there was often evidence of a carpet in the process of being woven. Woolen threads lay scattered inside, and there were implements, such as metallic combs, which were used to weave the carpets. Some of the wool had even been brought from Afghanistan. As for the dyes, the natural dyes were the best, although there was increasing tendency to opt for European dyes which were easier to mix. Each carpet is hand-woven and may take several months to weave, as each woolen thread is woven into the carpet individually. Such is the intricacy of tapestry.

I came across one tent where a family of Afghans were sitting and my guide beckoned me to enter the tent. Yes, I could take photographs of the family, but the women would have to cover their faces first. This family had come from a farming community in Afghanistan. They had walked to Munda to escape from the war at home and the bombing of their village. Now, life was tougher because they had to rely on the charity of others. They were given sugar, kerosene and wheat as their ration, but as this did not suffice, one or other member of the family would have to seek employment in the neighbouring town.

Admittedly, the assistance given to refugees meant that they were often materially as well-off as the local Pakistani population. However, one was struck by the fact that material comforts were no compensation for the loss of the refugees' former livelihood and homeland. To understand the new life of these people, it was imperative to grasp the deprivations of the past. This would help to balance comparisons with the welfare of the local, indigenous population with whom the refugees would have to live side by side.

Munda was not the only camp I visited. There were several others in the NWFP and near Karachi that I had the good fortune to see. Although the physical characteristics of each camp differed, the blank look visible on the faces of many refugees pervaded all these camps. It was a look that was replete with despair and expectation. For the casual visitor, it was a look that penetrated his senses and sensibilities. A measure of sympathy from the transient traveller?

JEHAD ACCORDING TO HOLLYWOOD

From an article by Pat Broeske
In the Los Angeles Times Sunday
Calendar 7/26

Sly and the projected "Rambo: First Blood Part III" won't be alone using the Afghanistan-Russian conflict as dramatic background. In fact, scheduled for a September shoot, Stallone's much-delayed sequel is lagging behind the pack.

The first film to deal forcefully with the war is "The Beast." Now in post-production at A&M Films on a \$7 million to \$10-million budget, it's due in February from distributor Columbia. It's a drama set during the Soviet invasion in which a group of freedom fighters stalks a Soviet tank crew that has blown up their village. It stars Steven Bauer (as an Afghan), Jason Patric (as a young Soviet) and George Dzundza (a Soviet tank commander). Kevin Reynolds ("Fandango") directs from a script by William Mastrosimone ("Extremities"), based on his play.

Also being developed:

□ "Nobody's War," to begin shooting in Morocco in mid-August for Chariot Ent. Group. Czech exile Douchan Gersi (who filmed Afghan war footage for PBS' "Explorer" series) directs, based on the real-life exploits of Perry Morgan, an American-born, British-educated actor (who's worked primarily on the English stage) whose passion for the Afghan cause brought him to that country in 1981. According to Morgan, who scripted and will co-produce, the \$6-million project (no distributor set yet) will encompass high adventure, political intrigue and "one man's romantic dream of freeing a country." Morgan, 37, will portray a central role—that of a British journalist ("There are pieces of me in the character"). Among the co-stars will be someone who knows about high adventure and political intrigue—G. Gordon Liddy, playing a former CIA agent involved with a radical right-wing American organization.

□ "In Honor Bound," based on the novel by Gerald Seymour

(who's also done a screenplay draft), involves a British intelligence officer, an American soldier of fortune and a Russ helicopter pilot in Afghanistan. There's also a love story involving an English woman. Hemdale hopes to shoot next spring in Morocco, Spain and Israel on a budget of about \$15 million, with Carter de Haven producing.

□ "Caught in the Crossfire," based on the nonfiction book by Ladies Home Journal exec editor Jan Goodman, is being developed by producer Howard W. Koch Jr. for De Laurentiis Ent. Group. "Ours is the only one of these films with a heroine," explained Koch. "Our story will take her through a transformation, from a satin-and-lace type to a freedom fighter." A director and screenwriter have yet to be announced.

□ "Lie Down With Lions," a romantic triangle set in Afghanistan, involving a CIA agent (who happens to be a Vietnam vet), a left-wing French physician (who seeks to avenge the death of his father) and an Englishwoman, will be scripted by Ken Follett, based on his recent novel. Producer Geoff Reeve puts the budget at \$10 million.

□ "Goodbye, Kamal" (tentative title), about an American father who journeys to Afghanistan in search of his kidnapped daughter, is currently in development for HBO Pictures. "It could be green-lighted and given a production start date by year's end," said an HBO rep.

□ An untitled drama is being written by writer Robert Kamen (who wrote "Taps" and "Karate Kid") for Columbia, to be produced by him and Mark Johnson about Soviets taking children forcibly from Afghanistan, schooling them in Russia, then returning them to Afghan society "as good little Communists." Kamen promises "an uplifting ending."



Carry On, James

In "The Living Daylights," the 16th James Bond feature, Bond becomes embroiled with a wily Soviet defector (Jeroen Krabbe), a ruthless American arms dealer (Joe Don Baker), the leader of a group of Afghan freedom fighters (Art Malik) and the head of the K.G.B. (John Rhys-Davies). The way in which all this happens is complicated but engrossing, and it takes the action from Gibraltar to Vienna to Tangier, and finally to Afghanistan. **NYT 7/31**

'The last hope' to be screened soon

"The last hope," a 35 mm color picture will soon be released by the Afghan Film Organisation. Director of the film is Wahid Nazari, photography is by Qadir Tabiri and script by Wahid Nazari and Ahmad Zhwand.

The film is based on a short story by Asadullah Habib.

Abdullah Samadi, Jan Mohammad Piar, Adellah Adem, Farid Faiz, Murtaza Baigra, Karim Nael, Usman Alim, Abdullah Patang, Mirwais, Saira Azam are acting in the film.

Important characters among the cast.

Wahid Nazari, told KNT correspondent: "We have shot more than half the film and will complete it in this untiring work of the crew and workers of the studios of the Afghan Film Organisation are worth mentioning. The new film has a number of heroes which makes it different from other Afghan feature films.

The opening scene shows a session of soldiers of the revolution. They decide to restore a nearby village school. All things seem very easy at the outset, but later

the soldiers find themselves besieged by the enemies of culture and knowledge. But they learn from the situation. They find that they have to defend not only their own lives but also the lives of the villagers and the school children. They gradually become moulded into real revolutionaries.

The brave soldiers succeed in their noble mission and reconstruct the school and restore peace to the village. (By Rabahi)



A still from "The last hope". (KNT Photos)

7/14

From the Editor:

Just when we thought we could produce an issue with wide margins and full-sized print, along came lots of articles, and new laws & a draft constitution from the DRA. So back to magnifying glasses. We'd be interested in hearing whether you would rather have more news in small print at the same price of bigger print or more pages for more money.

Occasional paper #27, "A Man of Enterprise: The Short Writings of Josiah Harlan," with Introduction, Maps & Chronology by Christopher Brunner, is almost ready. Those of you who included the paper price in your subscription payment will receive it; those who did not may order a copy for \$5. (\$6 - sea mail overseas.)

We have a number of new subscribers so we'll repeat our statement of purpose: The FORUM tries to keep its readers apprised of what is being done, said & reported about Afghanistan. You, our readers, must distinguish fact from fantasy. News from Kabul comes from Bakhtar Information Agency (BIA) telexes; proper & place names are spelled as they appeared in the article cited, making a nice variety. Our only support is subscriptions; the only people who get paid are the printer & the US Post Office. (The editor occasionally borrows a stamp.)

Since we don't subscribe to practically everything, we depend on you to send us articles, information on what you or your organizations are doing, cartoons, comments, items from your local papers - anything that pertains to Afghanistan. We love to get mail. The deadline for the November issue is 10/15.

For those who care, Zia Nassry reports he is off to Moscow on 9/1 to negotiate an interim gov't in Afghanistan. He has a list of 55 prospective officials, all Afghans currently in Kabul, and claims that Soviet troops can be withdrawn in 3 months. Anyone who wants to go with him is welcome.

THE AFGHAN HORSE

The following is taken from AFGHAN NEWS (Jamiat), Vol. III, #14, 7/15/87:

Transportation of supplies & patients is important parts of the whole armed struggle. In a mountainous country like Afghanistan, pack animals, especially horses, play an important role... Thousands of tons of equipment & supplies of different kinds are carried hundreds of miles each year. Due to Soviet aerial superiority, vulnerability of roads to enemy ambush & the ruggedness of the terrain, vehicular transportation is limited to the flat areas of the south & southwest.

Camels are being used...but due to their slow movement, huge size & inability to go on rough terrain, they have limited use. Donkeys are...slow, carry little & have problems crossing rivers & bridges. Mules are being used...but since Afghans were not traditionally using mules as domestic pack animals, few of them are available... Horses remain the main pack animal for transportation.... The people of Afghanistan are familiar with horses, know how to take care of them & feel comfortable working with them. This is the major reason why horses have become the principal pack animal of Jihad.

Horses packed with food, medicine, equipment, books & other essential commodities travel in big caravans... for weeks from border to border in Afghanistan. Like other creatures in Afghanistan, these poor animals also suffer from Soviet bombardments, mines & ambushes. Horses are also subjected to severe weather, lack of food & attack from many kinds of disease.

If one travels north along the summer route, one can observe the big job horses do & the extent to which they suffer. The blood stains from the legs of the horses have drawn a red line from the border of Pakistan...to the soft & fertile plateaus of the north. One can witness hundreds of dead horses who have been killed either by the Soviet invaders or the harsh climate, fatigue & disease. Seeing this one wonders why so far no body has come forward to form a clinic to treat horses & save their precious lives. Even the Mujahideen organizations have not paid attention to the suffering of these poor animals who serve a very important cause.

A surprising thing in the whole business...is the old & traditional type of packing. In this system the load is put on the horses & then tied with long & rough ropes. They do not use hooks but knots which add to the discomfort of the poor animal. I do not understand why a new system has not been developed which would be comfortable for the horse & easy for the drivers to use. Looking at some army books one sees that very useful systems have been developed. If one of those systems was introduced on an experimental basis & proved useful, the people would copy it... Due to increased demand for transportation & enemy attack of supply routes, transportation costs have sharply increased & so has the price of horses. Mujahideen who are fully aware of the need of more horses encourage people in the country to keep horses.

The Soviets are aware of the value of Afghan horses & shoot them where they see them. I have been a witness when two jets fired rockets & dropped cluster bombs on a single horse & killed it.

As long as the war continues the horses will continue to play their positive roles & risk their lives to liberate Afghanistan. Without the contribution of the horses Jihad would not be in as good a shape as it is now.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

DARI POETESSES

The Afghan Jihad Works Translation Centre has translated the UN Afghan Human Rights Report (by Felix Ermacora) and The Afghan War & Soviet Central Asia (by Alexandre Bennigsen & Chantal Le-mercier) into Dari. The July issue of the organization's AFGHANISTAN & THE WORLD PRESS contains a translation of Alexandre Bennigsen's article "Winning the War for Afghanistan" published in the NATIONAL REVIEW 4/8/87 as well as "Moscow Sapping Afghan Resources" from the 7/14 PT; "Ukranian Mother's Protest Attracts Numerous Letters on the Afghanistan Theme" by Bohdan Nahaylo for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty 5/18; an article from DER SPIEGEL; the US State Dept.'s Special Report #155, "Afghanistan: Seven Years of Soviet Occupation" & a review of Anthony Hyman's 1984 book, AFGHANISTAN UNDER SOVIET DOMINATION.

AFGHANISTAN. LA RÉSISTANCE AU COEUR by Shah Bazgar (in collaboration with Régis Guyotat), Paris, Denoël. 1987. 92 Ff.

THE WIND BLOWS AWAY OUR WORDS by Doris Lessing, London, 1987, Pan Books. 172 pp. £2.95

Coming this fall: An Afghanistan handbook, edited by Rosanne Klass, is due out in late October. Arthur Bonner's account of his Afghan war coverage will be issued by Duke University Press in November.

The National Security Archive makes internal US Gov't documents available for researchers, journalists, scholars and the public. The Archive's records, all of which are unclassified or declassified, are obtained from gov't reports, donated record holdings, oral histories, Congressional reports & testimony, court records, Presidential Libraries & documents released under the Freedom of Information Act. Included in its current projects list are "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan & US Policy Toward Afghanistan" & "Support for Afghan Guerrillas: Ideological Roots of the Guerrilla Organizations." Further information is available from the Archive at 1755 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 797-0882.

The State Committee for Press and Publications, has recently brought out "Poetesses in the course of Dari Literature", an anthology. The 240 page book is well got up and introduces women poets, past and living of Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan.

Atta the author of the book, who is himself a young poet. He says in the preface of the book: "The book is dedicated to the fighters for emancipation of women, to the freedom-loving Afghan women and girls to the roses in the garden of present day Afghanistan poetry."

The anthology gives information on the life, poetry and struggles of the poetesses and also contain photos it fills a long-felt vacuum in our literature.

Mehistay Ganjawi, Janan Mulk Shirazi, Aesha Afghan, Gulrokhshar Tajik, Makhti Badakhshi, Mahjuba-Herawi, Farvin Etesami, Simeen Bahbhani, Frough Farukhzaad, the bright stars of Dari poetry are introduced in the book.

The book, presents in its first pages the fair Rabia Balkhi, the first woman of Afghanistan who composed poetry in Dari more than one thousand years ago. Rabia lived a tragic life but wrote im-

mortal verses. As we call Rodaki the father of Dari poetry, Rabia Balkhi is undoubtedly its mother. Her father Kaab was the ruler of Balkh during the reign of Samanid dynasty. She had featured in her poetry her doomed fate and the darkness of her time. A poetic meter is ascribed to her.

The contemporary poetesses are given important place in the book. Rabia Aseer, Sharifa Danish, Laila Kavian, Laila Saranat, Humaira Nighat, Gulrokhshar Safiwa, Gulchehra Solaimanova, Mahan Sekandari are outstanding among them.

(By: Nafisa)

KNT 7/14

VETERANS OF AFGHAN JOURNALISM

The State Committee for Press and Publications of the DRA recently brought out "Veterans of Afghan Journalism" a work by Zarin Anzor, a young and promising Pashtu writer. The book introduces founders and veterans of journalism in the country. It is the outcome of 10 years of tireless work by the author and tells of the life and struggles of eminent journalists of the past and present day Afghanistan.

The book describes the hard struggles of the first journalists of the country who wrote at tremendous cost under harsh political conditions. Given writing simple truth was taboo and iron censorship strictly ruled all publications. No wonder, many of the pioneering jour-

nalists the past time had to pay with their lives for their bold and frank writings.

Kazim Ahang, an eminent journalist of the country and Hewadmal have written two interesting prefaces to the book. Hewadmal writes: "Journalism has a history of one hundred years in Afghanistan." During the period, tens of periodicals, papers, journals and other publications appeared in the capital and provinces of the country. Books such as 'An introduction to Afghan periodicals and papers', 'Course of journalism in Afghanistan', 'A glimpse of Afghan publications', 'History of journalism in Afghanistan' and Pashtu publications of Afghanistan' tell about the publications of the country but none of

them ever wrote any thing about the editors and writers of these publications. Viewing the hardships and ill-equipped printing technique of that time, one is inclined to call the first journalists of the country heroes and champions.

The book introduces 68 veterans of Afghan journalism such as Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, Mirza Abdur Rahman, Maulavi Salet Mohammad, Abdul Raouf Khaki, Mohammad Davi, Abdul Hadi Tarzi (Peraishan), Abdul Rahim Luddin, Maulavi Salet Mohammad, Ghulam Mahiodin Afghani, Paenda Mohammed Farhat, Mohiuddin Anis, Mohammad Amin, Gulistan, Salahuddin Saljuki, Mir Ghulam Mohammad Ghubar and Prof. Abdul Hai Habibi.

KNT 6/14

William Hyland, in a review of THINKING LIKE A COMMUNIST by Tony Smith, writes in the NYT BOOK REVIEW - 8/23:

Although Mr. Smith does not go further, one is permitted to conclude that the idea that there can be semidemocratic coalitions, say in Nicaragua or Afghanistan, runs against a century of communist history and thought in which there have been numerous purges, splits and internecine battles over "wrong ideas" that challenge the ultimate truth of Marxism. The all-encompassing perspective of Marxism, after all, produces individuals who are uncompromising.

From Graham Brash (Pte) Ltd., 36-C Prinsep St., Singapore 0718:

Short Stories of The Far East

This book contains a selection of sixteen outstanding short stories, all by authors of international standing. Joseph Conrad, Pearl S. Buck, W. Somerset Maugham and many others are included. Set in Malaysia

(Malaya), Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and China. The stories depict the wisdom and ignorance, wealth and poverty, humanity and mystery of the Far East.

8 1/2" x 5 1/2", 184pp, 6.8W
Illustrations, 16 stories, P/B,
9971 947 62.5 \$6.95

BOOK REVIEWS

SOVIET EXPANSION IN THE THIRD WORLD - AFGHANISTAN: A CASE STUDY by Nasir Shansab, Silver Spring (MD), Bartleby Press, 1966.

AFGHANISTAN. NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE SUPERPOWERS by Moh'd Amin Wakman, New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, 1985.

Suppose you were forced to select one of two authors for an in-depth socio-politico-economic analysis of a country. Suppose further that the choice lay between an emigré businessman of whom you had never heard and the Sec'y Gen'l of an exile political party (self-defined social democratic), whose past included experience in foreign affairs, newspaper editing, radio/TV announcing, a responsible posting in the ministry of information and culture, a master's degree in journalism and a doctorate in international relations. Which would you choose? (Do you detect a loaded question? You are absolutely right.)

But on to the books. Dr. Wakman's seems to this reviewer to be a perfect example of padshahgardi, the "game of kings" sobriquet with which Afghan villagers in the old days customarily dismissed political maneuverings in Kabul. It simply does not relate to real life - particularly the grim realities of life in Afghanistan since 1978 - but tries to define the country in the somewhat sterile framework of non-alignment politics. There is no reason it should not, for that is the title of the book, but by divorcing the human element and ignoring the tremendous emotional and sociological tides raised by the 1978 Communist coup and the 1979 Soviet invasion, the author leaves out the most vital ingredients of future developments in his country.

After a catalogue of facts about the nation (location, size, topography, history), with a focus on how neutralism became Afghan policy, Dr. Wakman looks at the non-aligned movement (NAM) as a whole and Afghanistan's relation to it. He then explores Afghanistan's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union before returning to its role at various NAM meetings. After a chapter on Afghanistan's foreign policy following the 1978 coup, there is a final, 8-page set of conclusions. Appendixes include the text of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 21 February 1921 and the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation of 5 December 1978. There is a select bibliography and about 4 pages of indexing.

The book left me unhappy for several reasons. One is that the author did not draw on personal experience or inside information but confined himself to largely bloodless written records. It can be assumed that Dr. Wakman, as a member of the pre-1978 Afghan ruling elite, knew a good deal about the political maneuvering and pressures - both internal and external - that his country endured in the first part of that decade. If so, these vital data remain the author's secret. Instead, we are presented with exhaustive, bland quotes on the NAM's (and Afghanistan's) lofty ideals but little in the way of substance.

The book avoids aspects of Afghan history to which neighbors might object. For example, in the discussion of Soviet-Afghan relations, there is no mention at all of Afghan support for the Basmachi movement in Central Asia in the 1920s. Although the Pushtunistan question does receive attention, the author's statement (p. 117) that "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan had almost been strained" by the issue must surely set some kind of record for understatement, given the dispute's responsibility for the border violence that led to the 1961 break in Pakistani-Afghan relations.

In the final chapter, the author reaches the unsurprising conclusion that Afghanistan is no longer non-aligned but has a "pro-Moscow stance." Few would contest that finding. Dr. Wakman seems to feel, however, that moral suasion by the NAM might

suffice to persuade the Soviet occupation force to pack up and go home, leaving non-alignment again an Afghan option. Like the preceding idealistic vision of Afghan leaders and policies through history this trust in an NAM solution to the Afghan deadlock seems a bit out of touch with reality.

Mr. Shansab's book is in lively contrast to the above. Where Dr. Wakman draws a cosmic, totally wartless portrait of all Afghan leaders and policies, Mr. Shansab seems unable to detect anything but warts. His attitude toward all 20th century rulers of his country is summarized on page 10 when he indicts them en masse for having "never had the long-term future of the country in mind when discharging their duties. They perceived governmental power solely as a tool to help the ruler preserve his position... Repression, nepotism, and corruption shaped government conduct. Self-preservation and the perpetuation of the status quo seemed to be the highest moral code..."

That is a bit harsh and there are many members of the former elite who do not deserve such treatment. I also question some of Mr. Shansab's other conclusions. For example, he thinks that "perhaps a majority" of Afghan officers trained in the USSR emerged from the experience as communists (p. 21). He also claims (p. 25) that it became "widely known" (How? Kabul bazaar-gram?) in 1965 that the government-installed election committee had opened ballot boxes to weed out ballots cast for candidates "unsympathetic to the regime." The election victories of Babrak Karmal and other PDPA figures on that occasion - and at the next election - would indicate that the ballot weeding, if any, was at best ineffective. Nevertheless, these are minor quibbles with an indictment that is otherwise well grounded and amply documented.

Mr. Shansab begins his book with an examination of 20th century Afghanistan, with only a blessedly succinct excursion into early history. He describes the internal politics in less than flattering terms. Over and over, nepotism, corruption and repression are presented as self-reinforcing sins that eventually became so ingrained that even well-intentioned reform efforts (1964) were doomed. In the author's view, the immorality of the country's leaders and their families led inevitably to systemic weaknesses that Moscow perceived and exploited.

Mr. Shansab goes on to describe how an Islamic "fundamentalist" opposition then arose against the old order, to be met by an unusual alliance of communist and royal family forces that prevailed until the communists seized power in 1978. When that happened, the new rulers were just as cut off from the Afghan people as their predecessors and their attempts to reform the country were met by bloody uprisings. The book examines the Soviet invasion that followed and covers the tactics and strategies of the ensuing guerrilla war through 1985.

The final third of the book examines "Soviet Geopolitics and American Foreign Policy Options Toward Third World Nations." The author concludes with some doubts on the longterm viability of the resistance, but with the stand that effective aid to the resistance is a "moral and geopolitical necessity for the Free World and the United States."

Mr. Shansab keeps his chapters short and his style is brisk and incisive. It is an excellently written, well organized book. (The author modestly gives credit to a Mr. Joseph Doherty for stylistic and organizational assistance.) Unlike Dr. Wakman, Mr. Shansab relates his view of geopolitics to the human tragedy of Afghanistan today. The book unfortunately lacks an index but the chapters are so short and clearly titled that finding information is not hard. There are relatively few footnotes but the author depends more on the logical development of his own arguments than on the findings of others.

If there is a detectable bias to the book, it is in favor of the so-called "fundamentalists" (an unfortunate term - why not say Islamists?), probably of the more moderate, Jamiat persuasion. Mr. Shansab's departure from Afghanistan in 1975, presumably in the wake of that year's failed Islamist revolt, is consistent with such a conclusion.

In their form and content these two books are startlingly representative of the old and the new Afghan non-communist culture: the fuzzy, remote, inoffensive ways of yesterday's elite, and the energetic, pragmatic, humanistic approach of today's best resistance commanders.

Anthony Arnold
Novato, California

AFGHANISTAN 1985/86, THE EFFECTS OF SOVIET OCCUPATION AND WARFARE by Albert Stahel and Paul Bucherer, Presseverlag, Aarau, Switzerland, Huber & Co AG, 12/86. Translated from German by the Congressional Research Service, 2/87. Photos, charts & maps. 34 pp.

This monograph by Stahel and Bucherer of Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanistanica in Liestal, Switzerland, continues a series begun several years ago on various aspects of the war in Afghanistan. Not until now, however, has an edition been translated into English to give those who do not read German an opportunity to examine this source of information. Unfortunately, because the Congressional Research Service does not make its publications available to the public, this booklet is only available from your congressman, from the Congressional Afghanistan Task Force or, in German, from Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanistanica.

The title of this study of the war slightly misleads its readers. The contents, covering the period 1985-1986, focus mainly on military aspects of the war. These are admirably covered, but one reads Afghanistan 1985/86 expecting some study of the political, societal and economic consequences of the Soviet occupation and the status of the resultant military and humanitarian relief efforts.

The bulk of the 12 chapters provides a look at the disposition and deployment of Soviet and DRA forces involved in the conflict, as well as a look at their operations, tactics and equipment. Because most information available on Afghanistan pertains to the Afghan guerrillas, and because media reports and academic papers generally cover the Soviet side of the war from a political or cultural angle, the information presented here on Soviet/DRA forces will be more valuable than the cursory treatment given to the sections on the mujahideen. Those chapters cover both the Peshawar-based parties and internal resistance of the mujahideen, guerrilla operations, tactics and equipment and the genocide of Afghan civilians.

Unlike many of their contemporaries, the authors of Afghanistan 1985/86 recognize that true power in the ranks of the resistance lies with the internal guerrilla commanders rather than with the Peshawar leaders. They also refuse to label the resistance as either rebels or insurgents, denying legitimacy to the DRA, and while stating that they support the resistance, they present their facts in a fairly objective manner free of ideological or rhetorical baggage.

Several mistakes that occur appear to be a problem with the translation. Motorized rifle divisions are referred to as Motorized Artillery Divisions throughout the text, MVD (Ministerstvo Vnutrennik Dyel) border troops are called MWD troops, MI-8 helicopters are called Mi-82 helicopters at one point, and elsewhere Shindand, Mazar-i-Sharif, Bagram and Jalalabad are called provinces.

Some statements and conclusions reached by the authors are also questionable. The authors claim that 150,000 Soviet troops are stationed in Afghanistan and that there are 150,000 permanently armed guerrillas. Both figures seem inflated and differ from other sources.

Size limitations of the study do not prevent a rather trendy discussion of Soviet Spetsnaz forces. Comparisons are really needed here to put Soviet and guerrilla tactics and operations into perspective. An example would be explaining why a Soviet wartime army generally has five divisions whereas in Afghanistan the Soviet 40th Army has about nine divisions.

Good charts and maps accompany the text although not all of the legends have been translated. Photographs of Afghan weapons are also included. But most of the information presented here is neither original nor new. Predictions about the political situation surrounding Pakistan and the Afghan resistance seem naive because of the brevity in which they are covered. And a faulty assumption that there is no Western aid reaching the resistance is also stated.

But several points raised by the authors make Afghanistan 1985/86 slightly more noteworthy than the numerous reports on Afghanistan being written today. Stahel and Bucherer agree with others that a severe famine will strike Afghanistan in the next several years. (They blame this on the war in general but ignore a major source of the problem - the Afghan merchants who steadily deforest Afghanistan's hills for lumber to build refugee housing in Pakistan.) They also reaffirm the fears of many strategists that a Soviet incorporation of northern Afghanistan is a real likelihood. Whether or not one believes that the Afghan resistance is doing well, the aforementioned problems need to be addressed before a situation arises that creates irreparable damage to the resistance and its popular support. Afghanistan 1985/86 is a first step.

Matthew Erulkar
Washington, D.C.

CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE by Jan Goodwin, E.P. Dutton, New York, 1987. 330 pp. text + 16 pp. photos. \$18.95

Forum readers now have a splendid present for all their friends and relatives who feel they should try to show some interest in Afghanistan not really knowing why they should. Caught in the Crossfire is a fascinating, compelling account of what is happening to Afghans both inside and outside the country.

While the first few pages bring a "not another one" sense of panic to avid readers of journalist's accounts and novels written about Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion, that sensation is soon dispelled. Caught in the Crossfire is about real people - brave, frightened, exhausted, playful, suspicious, hospitable, sometimes discouraged, but always determined - coping as best they can with situations over which they have little control.

The author, a British-born American citizen, has two passports which enabled her to visit both Kabul and the USSR as well as Pakistan, from where she crossed the border into Afghanistan with the mujahideen. She depicts her experiences vividly and sympathetically. She includes much basic information in her narrative to give the general reader the background of the conflict and its effect on all sides. Wisely she keeps comments on Peshawar politics to a minimum and offers no solutions.

This is a good book. Read it and buy some copies for your friends.

Mary Ann Siegfried
New York City

Pondering religious revolt

Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan by Olivier Roy. Cambridge University Press. Price not given.

When the Afghan war finally ends, Olivier Roy's book will continue to stand as an astonishing treatise on the Afghan resistance — all the more so, if one compares it to the mostly lacklustre efforts of other Western scholars to understand the conflict. Roy has outlined for the first time the historical and cultural roots of Islam in Afghanistan and thus given the resistance an ideological legitimacy, which it has failed to project on its own. He managed this despite the inherent contradictions in his model: contradictions between Islam and democracy, and between the complex ethnic and tribal loyalties in Afghanistan.

His research cannot have been easy. Roy, a French scholar and journalist, made six trips into Afghanistan in five years, spending months in the country, visiting every province, often on foot.

His basic argument is that Islamic revivalism in Afghanistan has produced a novel concept of modernity, which the West has failed to understand and which can form a new type of political society in the future.

There have always been two Afghans: the city — home of the court and the arrogant bureaucracy — and the country — the independent home of religion and tradition. The spontaneous uprisings in 1978 against the Marxist regime which had just seized power, were a rejection of Marxism and the reassertion of religion, to be sure, but also a rejection of the state's intrusion into the countryside. The Afghan kings had built their power base on a complex tribal confederacy, whose traditional chiefs or Khans came to Kabul for money, patronage and privilege.

Roy believes that two groups of modernist intellectuals emerged in the relative liberalisation of the 1960s: the Marxist groups who came from the urban bourgeoisie and the tribes, and the Islamists who aimed to remodel society in the light of the Shariah Islamic law. The members of these groups knew each other well and periodically clashed on the campus of Kabul University.

Roy explains, in superb detail, how the present differences within the Afghan resistance have emerged. While the localised, tribal power bases of the Khans have been eliminated in the war, other traditional leaders, the charismatic Pirs, for instance, now lead the three moderate parties that form the seven-party Afghan guerrilla alliance based in Peshawar. They command loyalty through the strong Sufism or mysticism that pervades most Afghan ethnic groups.

The conservative and traditional religious scholars, the *ulama*, who were the first popular organisers of the resistance from Peshawar and were trained in religious schools in India, do not have the ideological training to deal with the modern state, the making of parties or even with waging a modern guerrilla war. Their ultimate aim is to guide society along Islamic lines without overturning the state. They have been superceded by the fundamentalist Islamists, largely trained in the ethos of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and educated in the modern educational system in Kabul. They have built parties on a Leninist model, want a revolutionary Is-



Rabbani: successful guerrillas.

lamic state and are prepared to fight both the Russians and their fellow moderates in the resistance to achieve it. Roy personally favours the Jamiat-i-Islami led by Prof. Rabbani, which boasts the most successful guerrilla commander, Massoud, as a party leader. The Kabul regime, meanwhile, continues to build its power base along the traditional lines of tribal patronage, which offers only piecemeal solutions.

Roy takes the view that the Islamists are building a radical Islamic social structure. He does not really define this concept, however. He does not ask why the Islamists have failed to evolve educational and health systems, democratic institutions or modern agricultural training in their liberated base areas, which are part and parcel of any national liberation movement. There is not a single mention of the plight of Afghan women, which remains even more

wretched under the Islamists than before. How can a national liberation movement succeed when half the population remains locked away in *purdah*? Roy has no argument as to why, in the vastness of the Afghan mountains, the resistance has failed to persuade the people not to leave the country, but to build self-sufficient liberated areas. This failure makes the resistance heavily dependent on foreign aid and even foreign doctors.

Nor does he attempt to resolve the question of Islam and democracy. The resistance has now called for free democratic elections as part of an Afghan peace settlement. However, the Islamists do not believe in a multi-party democratic state, but rather in an Islamic state where only those vetted as correct Muslims can be elected.

The weakest part of the book concerns the geo-political influence on Afghanistan. He gives only a couple of paragraphs to the massive arms and financial aid coming to the resistance from the US, Pakistan, China and Saudi Arabia. He ignores the fact that the intelligence agencies that run this aid, have had a large share in shaping the resistance as it is today. Roy's insistence on the poverty of the resistance can be contradicted by any journalist who visits the resistance headquarters in Peshawar.

Roy is more than generous to President Zia-ul-Haq when he says that he does not support the Islamists. Zia's close links to the Pakistan Jamiat and through that to the Afghan fundamentalists is well documented. In fact Pakistani diplomats have long complained that the moderates, who might make a peace settlement, have been locked out in the cold by Zia's military intelligence, which has channelled most of the arms aid to the fundamentalists.

Roy claims the Saudis have no Afghan policy, but their aid is massive and highly selective. He makes no mention of Chinese aid either. Roy is certainly partisan, and one gets the distinct feeling that he is withholding information he has access to, so as not to invalidate his thesis.

Finally, Roy's rejection of the traditional tribal structure remains unconvincing. Today the only settlement acceptable to the Soviets, the West and the majority of the Afghan refugees is in fact a return of ex-King Zahir Shah to head some sort of coalition government in Kabul after a Soviet troop withdrawal. Such a settlement is unacceptable to the fundamentalists, because the Zahir Shah option will reinforce the traditional tribal structure, the *ulama* and the Pirs and leave the fundamentalists out.

— Ahmed Rashid

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Soviet assistance to renovate Kabul Theatre

SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1987

A glimpse of Kabul's historical past

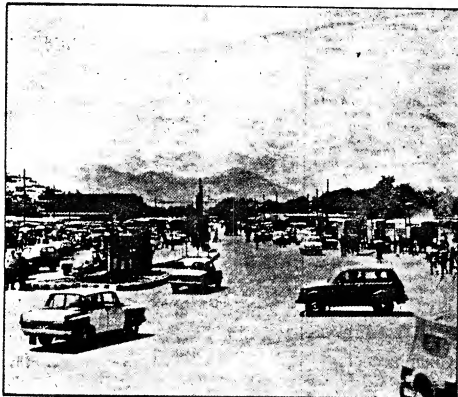
Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan since 1776, is among the most ancient cities of the world. Since it is located on the crossroads of the east and the west, it has always enjoyed a unique trade, cultural and historical importance. The valley is surrounded by high mountains, citadels and walls, which act as defences of the city.

Foreign invaders have always been defeated by the people of this historic city. For instance, Alexander the Great soon left Kabul when he faced the heroic resistance of its people in the mountainous valley of Kabul. The same fate met the other conquerors.

Kabul has grown far from a typical oriental town to a modern and industrial city in recent times.

Kabul and Historians:
Herodotus was the first historian who had mentioned the city as Kabura, and called its inhabitants Bolyto. But the correct name of Kabul's residents was Kabolaiti. Strabo called it Ortaspana meaning a region. We also called Kabul as Kapila. Herodotus called it Kaspatras, which later became Kabul. When Yuan Tsang, a famous Chinese pilgrim, came to Kabul, he named the city as Kofu.

Geological Characteristics:
Kabul is situated in



Deh Afghanistan, a part of Kabul city.

(Photo by Youns)

the southern parts of Hindukush at an altitude of 1700m above the sea level. The huge area from Hindukush to the western mountains of Turkey was under water in the pre-historical times. This huge area, called Tethys, emerged from water in the third geological period.

In ancient times, Kabul was ringed by two mountains, namely Asamai and Sher Darwaza, but gradually the area of the city expanded. On the south and southwest the city extends to

Chelch Sotoon and Darul Aman, on the west and north-west of the city is bounded by Mahtab Qala, Afshar and Company; on the north by Karti Parwan, De Keph, Khair Khana and Kolola Pushta and Yaka Toot; on the east by Zenda Bana and Yak Le-ga Pass and on the south east by Beni Hissar.

Buddhism had spread before the advent of Islam in Kabul. Buddhist temples and stupas had flourished in the city. After, Banyan, Kabul was the second Bu-

ddhist center of Afghanistan. After the advent of Islam almost all Buddhist temples were destroyed and mosques built in their places.

A dynasty, called Kabul Shahanshah, after the advent of Islam almost all Buddhist temples were destroyed and mosques built in their places. A dynasty, called Kabul Shahanshah, after the advent of Islam almost all Buddhist temples were destroyed and mosques built in their places. A dynasty, called Kabul Shahanshah, after the advent of Islam almost all Buddhist temples were destroyed and mosques built in their places.

son of Nader Shah Afshar, the city was again destroyed by his troops.

During the reign of Ahmad Shah Baba in the 18 century, Kabul was rebuilt. It regained its lost prosperity. Ahmad Shah Baba also repaired the age-old famous walls of Bala Hissar of Kabul. In 1808, Timor Shah shifted his capital from Kandahar to Kabul. Zaman Shah built the Chihil-Sotoon palace and several mosques including Pule Khishti. In 1878, Amir Shir Ali Khan, famous for his modernization and reforms made Shir Poor which was later ruined by British troops during the Anglo-Afghan wars. Later, Amir Abdulrahman Khan and his son Amir Habibullah Khan constructed many historical monuments here. Amir Amanullah Khan built the Darul Aman palace and many other establishments.

But the present-day Kabul is a truly modern city. It has changed its image completely, and, as Nancy Dupree, an author of many books on Afghanistan, says; Kabul is a fast-growing city where tall modern buildings nuzzle against bustling bazaars and wide avenues fill with brilliant turbans, gaily striped chapans, school girls in black dresses, a multitude of handsome faces and streams of whizzing traffic! (By S. Arizafar)

Kabul Theatre is to be renovated with Soviet assistance. The theatre will be completely renovated by painting, interior decor and installation of new modern electrical instruments for lighting.

Head of the theatre told BTA: We have short and long term development plans for the growth and expansion of theatres in Afghanistan with the cooperation of experts and artists of the USSR. I can cite, for example, the setting up of an artistic studio this year, sending a 25-member group of students and artists to Moscow for training in acting, a 10-member group of the puppet theatre to Tajikistan and a 30 member group of circus and Pashu theatre as well as a 45 member group of actors to the USSR in 1987.

The visit of Soviet artistic and cultural groups to Afghanistan, exchange of artists between the two countries and the cooperation of Soviet directors in producing plays for Kabul Theatre are other examples.

We are going to present a play called "Crisis of old age" on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. This is a Soviet play directed by Bogemolov. (BLA)

KABUL NEW TIMES, TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1987

Unique carpet made by CREPCA

CREPCA joint stock company has achieved a remarkable feat and produced a carpet which is unique in many respects. The 16 meters long and 11 meters wide carpet was woven in 18 months by 30 women and is now on display at the permanent exhibition of socio-economic development of the DRA in the city.

The carpet has its own style and design reflect-

ing the high maturity of Afghan handicrafts. Apart from being made of pure wool, nine natural colours are used in it.

The President of the CREPCA Company told your correspondent that the company was set up four years ago under the Ministry of Commerce with an investment of 10 million Afis, 60 per cent of which by the chamber of commerce and

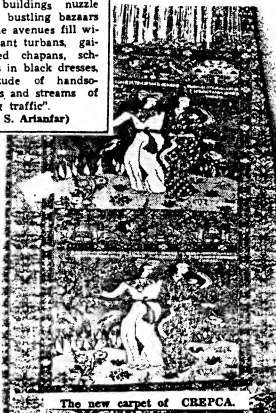
By A Staff Reporter industries, 20 per cent by the carpet exporter's union and 20 per cent by national traders.

Apart from small and medium size carpets, it would also produce two big carpets, 25 by 150 meters, during the current year.

CREPCA has exported 24,500 meters of carpets since its inception and has earned considerable foreign exchange.

It has also introduced Afghan carpets abroad through international exhibitions held in FRG, Yugoslavia, India, Western countries, Indonesia and Japan.

To assist carpet weavers' families and repairers, it has newly set up two agencies in Balkh and Fariab provinces. It has supplied raw material to private carpet looms.



Article 1: The lands that have been distributed to the landless and small land holding peasants in the process of land and water reforms in the course of post-revolution years and that are cultivated and utilized by them would remain in their permanent use.

Article 2: The conditions and the criteria of distribution of land to peasants shall be fixed differently according to legislative documents taking into account the size of land for distribution in the locality, fertility, irrigation conditions, location and keeping in view the number of family members and local characteristics.

Article 3: The water quota and its just distribution shall be fixed according to local customs in proportion to the size of cultivated land and taking into account the nature of cultivation and presence of water reserves surveyed during the clarification of land.

Article 4: The ceiling on land ownership for a family in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall be 100 jiribs (20 hectares) of first degree land or its equivalent, except in the cases mentioned in article 5 of this decree.

Article 5: A ceiling of 100 jiribs of first degree land or equivalent shall not be applicable in the following cases:

A. Land belonging to owners of orchards and vineyards, provided their entire area is covered by fruit-bearing trees or vines. The activity on such lands is regulated through a contract which shall be concluded between the state and the owner based on economic necessity and mutual interests.

B. Lands consecrated to pious uses, including charitable trusts belonging to holy places, such as mosques, religious "madrasas" and graveyards.

C. Lands belonging to landowners who have played an active role in the realization of national reconciliation, made noticeable contribution to the cessation of bloodshed and establishment of nationwide peace and expressed their resolute re-

adiness for further cooperation with the state power and whose services have been confirmed by the high commission for national reconciliation.

The activity on such lands shall be regulated by legislative documents that envisage the use of economic levers and the system of payment of taxes.

D. Other cases, anticipated in legislative documents.

Article 6: To increase agricultural output and raise the productivity of existing agricultural lands and lands that would be newly brought under cultivation, permission shall be given for the establishment of mechanized agricultural institutions and farms, private and joint corporations on the lands in the possession of either private owners or the state, making use of the employment of labour and the lease of lands.

— The lands of such institutions shall not come under the ceiling for land ownership.

The activity on such lands is conducted by a contract concluded between the state and such institutions keeping in view the fact that they would sell their surplus agricultural products to the state.

Article 7: The peasants who have received land from the state, can expand the size of their lands through purchase of additional land within the permissible ceiling fixed in the Article 4 of the decree.

Article 8: Lands exceeding 100 jiribs of first degree or their equivalent shall become state property. The state, as well as some parts of lands that shall be newly brought under cultivation, would be distributed free to the landless and small land holding peasants and nomads according to the provisions of this decree and other enforced legislative documents.

Article 9: In accordance with the principles of the national Democratic April Revolution, the tenets of Islam, customs and traditions of the Afghan people:

1. The abandoned land of the deceased shall be divided among the heirs by a local court in such a manner that the size of land of every heir

shall not exceed 100 jiribs of first degree land or its equivalent.

2. Individuals who are village chiefs, heads of tribes and ethnic groups and other figures, and whose lands are subterranean canals and villages should clarify their shares according to the ownership documents or records taxes paid and register the same in the land registration book and get their ownership documents.

Article 10: Local organs of state power and administration are authorized to adopt necessary decisions on behalf of the state in taking over the lands that are not utilized in accordance with the proposals of the commissions for national reconciliation.

Article 11: The right of sale, donation, mortgage and lease of lands within the permissible ceiling is given to all strata of land owners, except those who have received land from the state as a result of the implementation of the land and water reforms.

Article 12: The socio-economic relations between the land owners and lessees as well as the conditions of employment of labour on the lands of landowners are regulated by the concerned legislative documents.

Article 13: The regulation of land and water relations in localities shall be conducted by the concerned state organs as per the principle of Justice and democracy and considering the views of commissions for national reconciliation with the broad participation of landless and small land holding peasants and all strata of land owners.

Article 14: The Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is assigned:

1. To coordinate, in three months time, the decisions of the government with the provisions of this decree;

2. To prepare necessary legislative documents for the realization of this decree keeping in view the proposals of peace jirghas and commissions for national reconciliation.

Article 15: This decree shall be published in the official gazette and shall come into force from the date of its publication. On its enforcement all orders that run counter to this decree, shall stand repealed.

Energy plays a key role in the socio-economic development of any society. With the availability of energy village industries and handicrafts can develop, groundwater can be pumped for irrigation and lift irrigation schemes implemented to bring more areas under cultivation. The sources of energy thus need careful investigations and economic study.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan's main energy resources are coal, natural gas and hydro-power; petroleum reserves so far identified are minor. In addition, there is the use of traditional fuels such as fuelwood, charcoal and animal wastes. With the rising prices of oil products, and shortage of electric power for the population, pressure on the forests has increased, and large scale exploitation of the forest is taking place.

Coal mining is the oldest established fuel industry, having been started more than 60 years back. There is no coal fired thermal plant as yet, but some are planned.

There is a considerable hydro-power potential but its development needs heavy investments. Selected projects have been taken in hand according to the availability of financial resources.

Afghanistan has about 125 windy days and 250 sunny days annually in some areas. There is thus good scope for the development of wind and solar energy projects.

The present power consumption is about 60 KWH per capita, which is one of the lowest in the world. Bulk of the power generated is hydro-power. There are isolated diesel generating

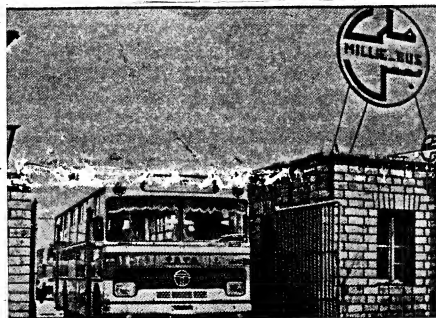
sets for cities not connected with hydro-power transmission networks. Some other cities have gas or oil fired thermal units. The Afghan Electricity Authority (DAEM) has divided the country into eight administrative regions called "Breshnas". In general, each region has one or two major local centres and several minor ones. The existing installed capacity in the country amounts to 676 MW, of which 282 MW is supplied by hydro-power stations, 158 MW by thermal power stations and 55 MW by diesel power sets.

Their total production for 1966 was 1,311 million KWH. This production could not satisfy the increasing demands of the consumers.

Potential for development of more than 23,000 MW of new hydro-electric generating capacity has been identified in the DRA. Of this potential, 18,000 MW are located on the Panj and Amu rivers along the international boundary between northern Afghanistan and the USSR. The sources for the remaining 5,000 MW are located primarily in two areas, first Kohka river (1,900 MW) and second, the Kabul river basin on the southern side of the Hindu Kush (3,100 MW). The existing hydro-power stations in the country utilize on an average about 200 MW of total hydro-potential. Multi-purpose use of the reservoirs for irrigation and power will be most beneficial to the nation. Due to mountainous configuration and steep slopes of some rivers, good crops in grounds are in abundance, but 85 to 70 per cent of the annual run-off occurs only as the snow melts from the Hindu Kush during a 4-month period.

(By: A. Sh. Satarani)

6/14



7/28

Millie Bus, the city's public transport.

O, Musafir come home!

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF MINISTRY OF NATIONALITIES AND TRIBAL AFFAIRS

"O, Musafir (traveller) come home!" is the opening line of a song written just after the proclamation of national reconciliation. Soon it got public acclaim. Youngsters and children can be heard singing the inspiring song in the streets of Kabul and in the provinces because it has risen from the very hearts of our people.

The song is sung by Qasim Bakbah, a young vocalist of the Radio-TV who also composed it. Its verses were written by his late father.

The singer calls upon his displaced compatriots to come back to their own homeland. He made his debut in radio and Television six years ago. His first song was a Pashtu song "The night of separation is over."

Artist Halrat Ahang, his father was also a singer of ghazals and a player of Dhruba. He was inspired by his father and Ustad Rahim Bakbah. Qasim Bakbah can also play tabla, harmonium, clarinet and accordion.

"My fellow countrymen, listen to me" is his latest song.

Qasim Bakbah was awarded the first prize in a contest which was held by the Defence Ministry last year. He has also entered one of his songs in a contest which is to be conducted by the Artists' Union.

Qasim Bakbah is now serving as an officer in the music school of the Defence Ministry. His "O Musafir come home!" earned him one promotion and a cash prize of the Artists' Union of the DRA.

7/19 (By: Nadia)

The Department of Culture and Publications of the Nationalities and Tribal Affairs Ministry of the DRA, has published 30 new books totalling 30,000 copies. Roses of the mountains by Nasir Nasib and 'Mahbubul Qlob Shir Ali Nawai' are the more significant among them.

Chronology of Pashtuns and Baluchis, Turkmen Makhtom Quli, and 'Emir Hafiz Baluch' describes the culture, literature and history of the three nationalities. Pashtu, Baluch and Turkmen respectively.

The department had organised many seminars and poetry recitals to co-

mmemorate anniversaries of great poets and literatures of all the fraternal nationalities of the country. Such functions were held last year in honour of Qeaudmin Khadem, eminent Pashtu poet, Noor Mohammad Ghamjan of Pashai and Mirza Mohammad Yahya Nadim Qaisari of Uzbek nationality.

The Ministry also organised a literary function to commemorate Abdul Waki Nooristani, an outstanding personality and freedom fighter of Nooristan, in which a number of authors and poets presented papers and poems.

The scientific seminar on Hamza Shinarwari early this month was also an im-

portant achievement of the department. The seminar was attended by members of the Academy of Sciences of the DRA, professors of the Kabul University and a large number of poets and writers. Also his complete works were published by the Ministry on the same occasion.

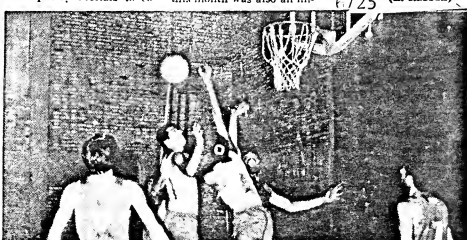
Besides publishing literary books, the department, publishes journals and wall newspapers like Gurash in Turkmani, Yul-doz in Uzbeki and Sob in Baluchi. The department will publish 11 more books by the end of this year.

6/25 (Z. Razban)



Qasim Bakbah giving

a concert.
(Photo by Yous)



The first round of basketball matches in the gymnasium of Kabul Pedagogic Institute.

6/29 (RNT Photo)

WEDNESDAY,
JUNE,
17, 1987

KABUL, JUNE 16,
(BIA)

A session of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council was held yesterday in Gulshana palace, RC headquarters, with Hajj Mohammad Samkanal, Acting President, in the chair.

Continuing the discussions of its last session, the RC Presidium comprehensively assessed the draft of the Labour Law of the DRA.

To determine consolidate and regulate labour relations, ensure and rights and to protect the rights of employees, improve the organisation of work and production, raise the efficacy of social production, generalise the progressive system of wages, salaries, and social securities for improving the social, cultural and living standards of employees and to provide appropriate and reliable employment opportunities for all citizens in contributing to the growth and consolidation of national economy, the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council endorsed the following decree on the labour law.

RC Presidium approves Labour Law

The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA endorsed under Article 44 of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA that:

Article 1: The law on labour of the DRA in 17 chapters and 178 articles is approved.

Article 2: A. The terminology of contract-based and regular employees are annulled.

B. Employees are to be classified as employees, workers and service personnel, according to the provision of the labour law of the DRA.

Article 3: The Council of the DRA is obliged:

A: To prepare the draft of the law on state employees taking into account the characteristics of their work and making use of the law on state employees and its amendments and submit it to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA in three months' time;

B: To prepare legislative documents regarding the fixation of prompt, limit and conditions of promotion, authorities for the approval of work contract, transfers and retirement of workers, service personnel and contract-based employees.

— The following legislative documents shall be prepared in four months' time:

I. Legislative documents on the determination of the rank, limit and conditions of promotion, the authorities for the approval of work, transfers and retirement of employees, service personnel and contract-based employees.

II. Regulations on the determination of retirement conditions, the amount and the mode of the payment of pension to employees.

III. A regulation on the settlement of disputes relating to work.

IV. A regulation on the manner of determination

and payment of compensation for losses, sickness and health impairment resulting from work.

V. A regulation on the amount and limit of financial obligations emanating from the loss inflicted on a department, the mode of fixation and payment of their compensation.

C. To amend, prepare and endorse regulations, by-laws and resolutions, that are in force at working site, according to the labour law of the DRA and this decree.

D. To draft and prepare other legislative and administrative documents anticipated in the Labour Law of the DRA in four months' time after the enforcement of the Labour Law.

E. To prepare concrete plans for the accomplishment of the tasks anticipated in items C and D of this article.

IV. A regulation on the manner of determination

and Social Security shall regulate in agreement with the Central Council of Trade Unions of Afghanistan the method of selection of employees to each category keeping in view their tasks and nature of their work.

Article 5: The provision of pension fund and other assistance that are anticipated in the Labour Law of the DRA, is applicable to those employees and their families whose right to pension and assistance is determined after the enforcement of the Labour Law.

Article 6: The Ministry of Justice along with the State Committee for Labour and Social Security of the DRA shall prepare in four months' time the list of legislative documents that would be annulled and amended after the enforcement of this law.

Article 7: This law shall come into force after its publication in the official gazette.

Hajj Mohammad Samkanal, Acting President of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA,

Artists in focus:



Huma, a talented actress of the Afghan Film Organisation, made her debut in "Glass Shoes" a drama staged on the Kabul Nandari stage in recent years when she was still studying in the ninth grade of Malalai Lycee. She was encouraged by her mother, also an actress. After graduation, she joined the DRA TV and soon appeared in telenovela "Wedding".

"Akhtar the Ridiculous", "The End", "Earth", and "Stranger" are the feature films and "Wedding", "A Sudden Return", "Punishment", "Keshlagh Melody" and "My Hamlet" are the telenovelas in most of which Huma has acted the heroine. 7/21...

Ahmad Zahir's melodies continue to haunt

Ahmad Zahir, the beloved vocalist of the young generation of our country died eight years ago, on June 14, 1978, causing anguish and grief to his numerous fans. Ahmad Zahir lived for just 33 years and devoted half of it to music. He began to sing when he was a young student of Habibia Lyceum. His first song 'Oh enamored nightingale' won him the title of 'nightingale of Habibia'.

He staged his first concert in 1964, and thereafter people always rushed to his concerts with keen enjoyment. In 1973, he recorded the song 'It would be nice if you have a look', and stole the title of the best singer of the year. But it was clearly to all that he was the best singer of years and he remained so for many years.

After completing his education in Kabul teachers' training college, Ahmad Zahir went to India for further education. However, his bonds with music became more firm in the land of great musicians and traditions in classical music. He learnt Indian music and in his own country he fused Indian and Afghan music to the delight of his enraptured audiences. He sang melodies which left haunting memories.

In 1961 with the cooperation of friends, he formed an amateur orchestra. This was regarded as one of his innovations. He did not use the old, and was always for displaying initiative and innovation. He himself said: 'I attach value to creation, initiative and innovation. I do not want my songs to be

similar. I would like to coincide with the old, but always prefer to go after the new.'

Thanks to his skill and art, Ahmad Zahir became the beloved vocalist of the people, but he was never too proud or arrogant: He loved his people, and sang for the

struggle against illiteracy and for those who were afflicted by flood.

Ahmad Zahir sang for his homeland, 'Let my homeland be mingled with my warg and we will be for the spring', 'I would sing songs if spring comes...' On the death of his mother, he

latter category which Ahmad Zahir, made better than their original.

'Tulip suck the blood of heart, narcissus puts on shroud...' 'Cupbearer, give me the river', 'I said I would sing you...' 'are among the songs recorded by Ahmad Zahir jointly with renowned singers like Mahwahid, Zuhra Ahmad Walid and Hangama.

Ghulam Haidar Naisaz, President of the Music Department of the Radio-TV committee and himself a good composer recalling Ahmad Zahir, said: 'Ahmad Zahir was an exceptionally gifted vocalist. He was among those singers who win fame for the composers. He used to learn songs well and sing them beautifully. He was always serious in choosing lyrics and composition. Ahmad Zahir was always seen to rehearse his songs. He was called a man with a golden voice. He used to correct his mistakes himself. Though he did not have professional training in music, he learnt to sing well and endeavored to become a good artist, and he realised it.'

In one of his songs Ahmad Zahir sang: 'The day of my death would come as a night with waves of light...' It was true. His artistic career and youth came to an end very soon, in the spring of 1979.

Ahmad Zahir left behind him only two recorded TV songs. But film and television artists have managed to relive his songs for the art and prepared a review.

6/17 By Nafisa



Ahmad Zahir

em and paid respect to them. In one of his interviews, he said: I prefer to be an artist, provided, my artistic career is accepted by the people.

He was always dreaming of the victory and prosperity of the people. He used to say that prosperity would come through cohesion, peace and sincerity. Therefore, he sang songs for the rescue organisation, for the

cried, 'Let me sacrifice myself around your graveyard my mother...' He sang hundreds of songs for lovers and the young.

Though he composed most of his songs, he also used to borrow from foreign melodies. Songs like 'Alas, I am leaving for the flower season', 'I became alone, alone', 'Not be a child, oh heart' and so on are among the

Wrestling:

Top wrestler Habib Shah won the trophy in the 62 Kg. class in wrestling contest held recently by the TUA in honour of the policy of national reconciliation.

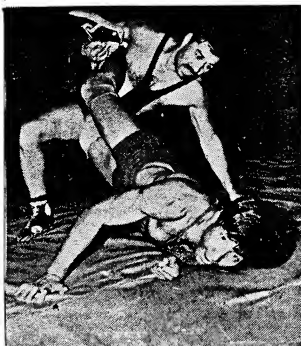
Habib Shah entered this sport 14 years ago and since then has taken part in 55 foreign and 40 national tournaments. He has been national champion since 1353 HS and so far has bagged 15 gold and several silver and bronze medals. Habib Shah was also a top scorer in the matches held in recent years between Afghan and Iraqi, Bulgarian, Mongolian and Czechoslovak teams. He had stood second

in an international wrestling tournament held in 1354 HS in Iran. In 1980 he won bronze in a tournament in Moscow. He has learnt much from Ustad Amir Jan. Habib Shah is now serving as a wrestling coach in the Kabul garrison and 30 soldiers and officers are practising under him. Mohammad Zuhra and Mohammad Subhan are among his outstanding pupils. Habib Shah is also leading other teams of the garrison in football, volleyball and basketball.

Under his leadership the teams of the Kabul garrison won four merit letters, two trophies and an honorary diploma.

(Habiba)

7/14



Habib Shah during a work out.

(KNT Photo)

SAYED ESHAN

Sayed Eshan Sangshikan is a young film actor who made his debut four years ago. He has appeared in many films in many roles.

The 'moments' was the first feature film which brought him to the screen. He played the role of an extremist in the film. His film part in 'Mosfir' (traveler) attracted film makers and critics. He appeared in 'Uldash' as a teacher.

Sangshikan also successfully appeared in 'Men keep their promises', 'Mother's woe', and 'Towards the nest'. He appeared in 'Exile' as an intellectual who prevents his brother from leaving the homeland. He is now acting in a new film, being directed by Musa Radmanish.

Sangshikan is also a good athlete who has taken part in many wre-



Sayed Eshan Sangshikan (Photo by Youtuf)

stling matches and won 5 medals from the State Committee for Sports.

He says: 'Each actor who joins cinema must be well-versed in acting both positive and negative characters. An actor is successful only when he lives with the people and learns from them. For people are true professors; they can distinguish good and bad artists.'

'Living in exile is very difficult. I feel pity for those compatriots who are still living in foreign countries in misery and distress. I reflected my feelings in 'Exile'. As an actor I call upon all those compatriots who are living far from their native country, to come home and work and live like noble citizens of the country' (By: Nafisa)

7/12



Acting in a negative role in 'Mother's Woe'.

Champion body-builder

Body building contests held in the sports stadium of Kabul University to welcome the policy of national reconciliation ended recently. Twenty one athletes from the following seven teams participated. Arash, Bahrman, Arzo Omid, Amari, Hedayat and Taramdoy.

Mohammad Naim Ibrahimzadah from the selected team of Taramdoy won the first position in the class and received a sports diploma from the State Committee for Physical Training and Sports.

Mohammad Naim earlier had won a championship cup for Arash club in the competitions held among free clubs by the State Committee for Physical Training and Sports this year. He had

also won the championship in the body building competitions held in 1985 by the trade unions of Afghanistan in Kabul city. Mohammad Naim had then received a gold medal from the TUA.

Mohammad Naim Ibrahimzadah is presently serving in the Ministry of Interior and has been engaged in his favourite sport-bodybuilding for the last six years. He does his exercises three days a week in the Arash club under the supervision of prominent trainers.

(By Habiba)



Mohammad Naim

7/25

EVENTS

Strategy '87, a conference sponsored by Defense & Foreign Affairs, the Int'l Strategic Studies Assn. & the Center for Developing States, was held from 7/13-16 in Washington, DC. For the 3rd year in a row, Afghanistan was the topic of one of the panels. This year's panel, moderated by Fred Smith, the Soviet affairs editor of Defense & Foreign Affairs, included David Isby, author of Weapons & Tactics of the Soviet Army, who presented a paper on Soviet special forces & operations in Afghanistan; Yossef Bodansky, whose paper theorized a possible outcome of the war in Afghanistan; & Matthew Erulkar of the Afghan Support Team, whose paper detailed the political, humanitarian & military needs of the Afghan resistance [Matt Erulkar sent us this report]

Following their presentations the panelists engaged in a lively discussion concerning the possibility of an Afghan victory. This was an outcome considered quite possible by Isby & Erulkar but debated by Bodansky who felt a Soviet victory in Afghanistan was a foregone conclusion. The 3 also answered questions from the audience which was composed mostly of officials from the armed forces, diplomats & scholars.

"Crisis in Afghanistan; What Lies in the Future" is the title of a panel to be held at the New York regional meeting of the ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES at Brockport, NY, 10/2-3. M. I. Khan will chair the panel. Participants will include Rhea Talley Stewart, Mobin Shorish, Zalmay Khalilzad & Habib Tegey. Tom Gouttierre will serve as the discussant. Louis Dupree will discuss "The Afghan Issue in Pakistan" on a panel on "Pakistan in the 1990s" at the same conference.

There will be a Kuchi Concert on 9/19 at 7 p.m. at Queensborough Community College, 56th Avenue & Springfield Blvd. in Bayside, Queens, NY. Tickets will be \$10, \$15 & \$20. Call (212)-307-1612 for information.

The International Visitor Program of USIA is sponsoring the visit of a group of Peshawar-based Afghan media specialists to the US from 8/23 - 9/21. Members of the group are Haji Syed Daud, Acting Head of the Afghan Media Resource Center; Hamed Karzai, Chairman of the Afghan Nat'l Liberation Front's Information Center; Sayed Masoud Majrooh, reporter for the Afghan Information & Documentation Center; Shahmammad Syed Miakhel, Deputy Director of the Belgian Relief Agency in Peshawar; Wasel Noor, Head, Jamiat Advisory Board; Sardar M. Roshan, Chief of the Nat'l Islamic Front of Afghanistan's Cultural Dept.; Zarghoon Shah, Ass't Editor for the Afghan Information Centre; Moh'd Yaqub Sharafat, Director, Afghan Islamic Press, & Deputy of the Culture Dept. of Hezb-e-Islami; & Abdul Karim Yusufzai, Vice President of Harakat's Political Dept.

Upcoming fundraisers for the AFGHAN REFUGEE FUND include a Country Fair at Oldwick, New Jersey, on September 13-14 & a "Celebration of H.E.A.R.T." (Help Exiled Afghan Refugees Today) Fair in Westport, Connecticut on 10/4.



THE HARTFORD BUSINESS JOURNAL

WEEK OF AUGUST 17, 1987

DIRECTORY UPDATE

The FREE AFGHANISTAN ALLIANCE, P.O. Box 9331, Glendale, CA 91206, (213) 952-4083, is a group of Afghans dedicated to freedom for Afghanistan & to giving humanitarian aid to Afghans. Sayed I. Nasir is president of the group which was founded in 1981.

The new phone # for Jamiat in Peshawar is 40110.

Step towards multi-party system

LAW ON POLITICAL PARTIES

Following are the provisions of the law on political parties approved by the RC Presidium at its sitting on July 4.

CHAPTER I

General provisions

Article 1: This law is adopted for the formation and functioning of political parties in the DRA.

Article 2: Political parties can unite in their ranks all strata and classes of society with the aim of further organising and elevating the level of political activities according to a definite platform.

Article 3: Political parties can admit to their membership on voluntary basis individuals, regardless of their nationality, race, language, tribe, sex, religion, sect, education, occupation, kinship, property, social status and place of residence.

2- The citizens of the DRA who have completed the age of 18 can acquire membership of a political party.

Article 4: The central offices of the political parties would be in the capital of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The security and safety of the political parties is ensured by the state.

Article 5: Political parties shall observe and respect the sacred religion of Islam, religious, national, historic and cultural traditions of the Afghan people and their platform and constitution should comply with the following principles:

1- Defence of the independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and socio-economic growth of the country.

2- Refraining from armed struggle against the state power and other political parties.

3- Support to the policy of national reconciliation and non-pursuit of war objectives.

4- Non-support to colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, Zionism, racial discrimination, apartheid and fascism.

5- Observance of the universal declaration of human rights, principles of peaceful co-existence, friendship and co-operation with the entire peoples of the world, policy of non-alignment and positive and active neutrality.

6- Observance of provisions of the Fundamental Principles and other laws of the DRA.

Article 6: Political parties irrespective of their numerical strength and seniority can freely function in accordance with the provisions of this law.

Article 7: The platform of a political party cannot be based on prejudice, tribal, regional and ethnic chauvinism.

The political parties should possess a national character in their composition.

The name, symbol or slogan of a political party cannot be limited to tribal, regional and ethnic characteristics.

Chapter II

Procedure for establishment and abolition of political parties.

Article 8: 1- The citizens of the DRA in accordance with the provisions of this law can establish political parties.

2- The application for the establishment of a political party can be made by its constituent group which should include not less than 30 persons.

3- No political party with less than 500 members can be established.

Article 9: The application for establishment of a political party should be submitted to the RC Presidium along with the following particulars:

1- The main objective lines of the political party together with its source of financing.

2- The names of the constituent members of the political party.

Article 10- The RC Presidium of the DRA shall assess the application for establishment of the political party and decide within two months at the most about its acceptance or rejection according to law.

Article 11: 1- After getting permission, the political party is duty-bound to present within a maximum of four months its constitution for registration to the RC Presidium of the DRA.

2- A political party established prior to enactment of this law is also registered in accordance with the provision of clause 1 of this article.

3- Relying on the provisions of Article 5 of this law, the RC Presidium can refuse registration of a political party.

Article 12: After registration of its constitution in the RC Presidium of the DRA, the political party can start its activity.

Article 13: After registration of its constitution, the political party shall enjoy the following rights:

1- Joining the National Front of the DRA.

2- Introducing candidates in the elections to local organs of state power and administration.

3- Establishing temporary or permanent political unity with other parties.

4- Free and open expression of opinion, oral or written, on political, social, economic and cultural issues in accordance with the law.

5- Establishing publication organ or making use of the mass media of the country in accordance with the law.

6- Other rights in accordance with the objectives and tasks of the political party's constitution in conformity with the laws of the DRA.

Article 14: The political party has the following obligations:

1- Observance of the fundamental principles and laws of the DRA.

2- Informing the RC Presidium of the DRA on amendments to its platform and constitution at least within 10 days after such amendment.

3- Refrain from causing disdain, insult, threat and terror against other political parties and their members.

4- Dissolving of the armed units of the political parties after their registration in the civil arm services of the DRA.

Article 15: A political party which is established in accordance with this law cannot be dissolved without reason. It cannot be dissolved except under the verdict of a special court composed of independent judges and established by the RC Presidium and with the approval of the RC Presidium. Proceedings of the court would be open.

Chapter III

Final provisions

Article 16: If the application for establishment of a political party is not approved due to legal barriers, it can be revived if the obstacles are removed.

Article 17:

1- The founding representatives have the right to take part in the session of the RC Presidium of the DRA for assessing and registering the establishment of the political party and give necessary explanations.

2- While deciding the question of dissolution or annulment of permission for establishing a party, the leaders of the political party have the right to attend the session of the court and of the RC Presidium and give reasons.

Article 18: This law shall come into force from the date of its approval and shall be published in the official gazette.

NAJIB MAKES HIS OFFER:

We would assess another serious issue. It is the form of administration of Afghanistan based on compromise and coalition, that is, based on peace and for national unity.

I would like to say explicitly that the idea of coalition power is not a sheer propaganda and or tactical manoeuvre, deceit and trick, but an honest and straight forward policy. Through ceasefire, conducting dialogue and talks, we should achieve such conditions in which no place would exist for armed aggression. Here we officially proclaim our decision on the practical issue of shaming power.

WITH WHOM WE RECONCILE ?

— Supporters of Mohammad Zahir, the former king.

The alliance of three moderate political parties:

— Social and political figures of past regimes;

— Heads of second rank armed groups;

— Tribal chieftains;

— Left democratic organisations;

— Clergymen;

— Capital holders and private traders;

— Commanders of armed opposition groups inside the country;

— Emigrants;

— Other parties, groups, organisations and personalities inside and outside the country if they show interest in the realization of national reconciliation.

POSTS ENVISAGED FOR THE OTHER PARTY TO RECONCILIATION:

— Vice-President of the Revolutionary Council, Vice-President of the republic after the endorsement of the constitution;

— Deputy Prime Minister (Council of Ministers);

— Supreme Court (chief justice);

— Ministry of Domestic Trade;

— Ministry of External Trade;

— Ministry of Mines and Industries;

— Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education;

— Ministry of Tribal Affairs;

— Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms and Ministry of Justice;

— Ministry of Islamic Affairs;

— Ministry of Construction;

— State Committee for Culture;

— Ministry of Public Health;

— Ministry of Nationalities;

— Ministry of Light and Food Industry;

— State Committee for Repatriates;

— State Committee for Labour and Social Security;

— State Minister for External Affairs;

— State Minister for Foreign Economic Relations;

— State Minister for Nationalities;

— State Minister for Tribal Affairs;

— State Committee for Sports and Physical Training;

Also the posts of ministers without portfolios in economic, social, law and judicial affairs and roving ambassadors. Besides, the representatives of the other side to reconciliation can also join in the composition of other ministries.

For realising fully the policy of national reconciliation, even the post of the head of the Council of Ministers of the DRA (Prime Minister) can be discussed under the conditions of coalition by the forces included in the coalition.

The government of national unity, to the extent of forming a coalition, is the manifestation of the sincere will of all people for peace. This compromise does not stem from weakness, but emanates from the position of powerlessness, wisdom and experience. Did not the Prophet of Islam, Mohammad, condemn the war among Muslim brethren? Isn't war against the verses of holy Quran? Taking the stride for making peace, solving differences in ceasing bloodshed, infighting, is a stand meritorious to every pious Muslim.

KABUL NEWS TIMES, THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1987



In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful;

Our beloved homeland Afghanistan has a proud history replete with the heroic struggle of our brave people for freedom, independence, national sovereignty, democracy and social progress.

The revolutionary and progressive changes that have taken place in our country in the course of recent years have provided favorable conditions for achieving high objectives, blossoming of the homeland and prosperity of the people.

Based on these and to:

- Consolidate the independence, national sovereignty and defend the territorial integrity of the country;

- Achieve and strengthen reconciliation and national unity keeping in view the objective realities, the traditions and customs of the people;
- Ensure social justice and equality;
- Develop national economy and the living standards of the people;

- Raise the role and authority of our beloved homeland Afghanistan in the international arena;

We, the people of Afghanistan, perceiving the historic changes that are taking place in the country and in the contemporary world, pursuing the tenets of sacred religion of Islam, preserving and enriching the heritage of the constitutional movement in Afghanistan, paying respect to the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, endorse this constitution as the most important national document.

Chapter one Foundations of state political system

Article 1:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) * is an independent unitary and indivisible state, having sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a non-aligned country which does not join any military bloc and does not allow establishment of foreign military bases on its territory.

Article 2:

Sacred religion of Islam is the religion of Afghanistan.

Article 3:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the state power belongs to the people. People exercise state power through their deputies in the National Assembly and the local councils which shall be elected in accordance with the provisions of the law. Members of National Assembly and deputies of local councils are responsible to their electors and are duty-bound to report to them.

Article 4:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, political parties are allowed to be formed, provided the platform, charter and activity of the party are not opposed to the values embodied in this constitution and the laws of the DRA.

A party formed in accordance with the provisions of the law cannot be dissolved without legal causes.

* It is possible that after ascertaining public opinion, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan may be called the Republic of Afghanistan.

DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DRA

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is the organizer and guardian of the implementation of national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan and functions in accordance with the constitution and laws of the DRA. The PDPA shall struggle for justice and social progress.

Article 5:

The National Front of the DRA, as the most extensive socio-political organization, unites political parties, social organizations and individual members included in its ranks for their active participation in political, state and social spheres on the basis of a common programme.

Article 6:

Social Organizations are allowed to be formed in the DRA. The state assists in upgrading the role of trade unions, peasant cooperatives, youth and women organizations and other social organizations in all political, economic, social and cultural life of the country and ensures the cooperation and mutual relations of state organs with them.

Article 7:

The insignia of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan consists of a rising sun, adiyum and pulpit with a green background, an open book in the center, encircled by two sheaves of wheat, and with a tricolour ribbon in black, red and green.

Article 8:

The State flag of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is tricolour in the form of black, green stripes divided into three horizontal equal parts. The insignia will be at the upper quarter of the flag close to the mast. The length of the flag is double its width.

Article 9:

The capital of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is Kabul.

Article 10:

The national anthem of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall be approved by the National Assembly.

Article 11:

The defence of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity is the fundamental duty of the State and the people. It is the duty of the armed forces of the DRA to defend the homeland against enemies and constantly upgrade its combat preparedness. The State ensures the security and defence capability of the country and equips the armed forces.

Chapter two Foundations of the state's socio-economic system

Article 12:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a multi-national country. The state shall follow the policy of all-round growth of understanding, friendship and cooperation between all nationalities, clans and tribes of the country for ensuring political, economic, social and cultural equality and rapid growth and development of regions which are socially and economically backward.

The State shall gradually provide the ground for the creation of administrative units based on national characteristics.

Article 13:

The state shall adopt necessary measures for the growth of culture, language and literature of the people of Afghanistan as well as preserve and develop the valuable and worthy cultural, traditional, linguistic, literary and folkloric legacy of all nationalities, clans and tribes.

Article 14:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, men and women have equal rights in all economic, political, social and cultural spheres.

Article 15:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan family constitutes the basic unit of the society.

The state shall adopt necessary measures for ensuring the health of mother and child and for upbringing of children.

Article 16:

The state takes permanent care of the young generation and provides opportunities for them to learn professions and takes step for ensuring necessary working conditions and their moral and physical raising.

Article 17:

The state shall expand construction to provide state and cooperative housing and help in the construction of private houses.

Article 18:

The state shall implement the economic policy which is aimed at mobilization and utilization of the country's resources for removing backwardness, raising the living standards of people and development of socio-economic structure of the society. Towards this end, the state shall formulate and put into practice socio-economic developmental plans.

Article 19:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan state, cooperative, mixed, private, personal and trust property as well as property of social organizations exist.

The State shall protect and defend all forms of legal properties.

Article 20:

Underground resources, forests and other natural wealth, energy resources, historic relics, banks, insurance institutions means of communication, Radio-TV establishments, big dams, ports, main means of production in heavy industry, transport ways and air transport are among State property.

The state shall strengthen and develop the state sector of the economy.

Article 21:

The cooperative property consists of the means of production and other properties necessary for implementing the functions provided for in the charter of cooperatives.

The State shall assist in expansion and consolidation of productive, consumer and other forms of cooperatives.

Article 22:

The state encourages and protects the activity of individual craftsmen and their voluntary participation in trade unions and cooperatives and renders all-round assistance for upgrading their professional skills, ensuring the supply of raw materials and sale of their output.

Article 23:

The state guarantees the ownership right of peasants and other landowners on land in accordance with law.

The state shall adopt necessary measures for the implementation of democratic changes in agriculture, keeping in view the interests of toiling peasants and other landowners and with their active and voluntary participation.

The state encourages the establishment of big agricultural and mechanized state, mixed and private farms and helps the reclamation of virgin lands.

Article 24:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan opportunities for use of pastures shall be guaranteed by law for nomads and livestock-breeders. The state shall render assistance in the creation of proper conditions for the growth of animal husbandry, sale of products, improvement of economic, social and living standard of livestock-breeders.

Article 25:

The state shall guarantee the security of private investment for the growth of national economy and protect and encourage the participation of national capital holders in the development of industrial, commercial, constructional, transport, agricultural and service spheres in accordance with the law.

The state expands all-round and beneficial relations with private entrepreneurs and protects the private sector vis-a-vis the competition with foreign capital and takes into account the interests of private sector in laying down the financial, credit, customs and pricing policy. The state encourages the activity of Economic Consultative Councils.

Article 26:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, domestic and foreign trade is directed and regulated by the State, observing the people's interests.

Towards this end, the State encourages the activity of national capital-holders in the expansion of export and import of goods and development of wholesale and retail trade, and undertakes the fixing and controlling of prices.

The State encourages the augmentation of production and raising of the quality of export goods and protects them vis-a-vis the competition of foreign capital and imperialist monopolies.

Article 27:

For the growth of the national economy, the State permits foreign investment in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and regulates in accordance with law.

Article 28:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, foreign citizens shall not have the right to own immovable property.

Subject to the approval of the government, immovable property may be sold to diplomatic missions and foreign states, on a reciprocal basis and also to those international organizations of which the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a member.

Article 29:

The use of private and personal property for harming public interest is not permitted.

The hereditary right to private and personal property shall be guaranteed by law and the provisions of Islamic Shariah.

Article 30:

Expropriation is allowed only for securing public interest against prior and equitable compensation in accordance with the law.

Confiscation of property is not permitted without the sanction of the law and decision of a competent court.

Article 31:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the criteria, rates and types of taxes and duties shall be determined by law on the basis of the principles of social justice.

Article 32:

The State shall adopt and implement necessary measures for the protection of nature, natural wealth and reasonable utilization of natural resources, improvement of living environment, prevention of pollution of water and air preservation and survival of animals and plants.

Chapter three Citizenship, rights, basic freedoms and duties of citizens

Article 33:

The citizenship of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, is equal and uniform to all citizens.

Attainment and cancellation of citizenship and other matters pertaining to it shall be regulated by law.

Article 34:

No citizen of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall be called inside or outside the country.

Article 35:

No citizen of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall be extradited to a foreign state.

Article 36:

The citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan living abroad enjoy the protection of the state. The state defends their rights and legal interests, strengthens the relations of Afghans living abroad with the country, and helps their return to the homeland.

Article 37:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan guarantees, according to the law, rights and freedoms of foreign citizens and individuals residing in Afghanistan without citizenship. They are bound to observe the laws of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Article 38:

All citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have equal rights and duties before the law, irrespective of their national, racial, linguistic, tribal, educational and social status, sex, religion, creed, occupation, and kinship, wealth, and place of living.

Granting of any illegal privilege or discrimination against rights and duties of citizens are not permitted and any one found guilty of such acts shall be punished according to the law.

Article 39:

Life is the natural right of every human being. No one shall be deprived of this right unless in accordance with the law.

Article 40:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, freedom of religious rites is guaranteed to all Muslims.

Followers of other religions are fully entitled to perform their religious rites provided they do not disturb public peace and order.

No citizen has the right to use religion for anti-national and anti-people propaganda purposes, creation of enmity and commission of other deeds contrary to the interests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Article 41:

Liberty is the natural right of the human being. This right is unlimited except in so far as it harms the freedom of others and public interests as defined by law.

Liberty and human dignity are inviolable and the state respects and protects them. Guiltlessness is original and the accused is considered innocent, unless found guilty by a final verdict of a court of law.

No act is considered a crime, except as prescribed by law.

No one shall be accused of crime unless in accordance with the provisions of law.

No one can be arrested or detained, except in accordance with law.

No one can be punished except under the provisions of the law in force prior to the commission of the act with which the accused is charged. The guilty shall be punished in accordance with the law in proportion to the crime committed.

—Crime is a personal deed; no other person shall be punished for its commission.

—The accused has the right to defend himself personally or through an advocate.

Article 42:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, punishment incompatible with human dignity, torture and harassment are prohibited.

Obtaining confession, evidence or statement from an accused or any other person by compulsion or threat is not permissible.

A public servant who tortures the accused or any other person for obtaining statement, evidence or confession, or who issues orders for torture shall be punished in accordance with the law.

Commission of unlawful deeds by virtue of the orders of superior authorities shall not bear acquittal of the person accused thereof.

Article 43:

Indebtedness of a person cannot cause the deprivation of one's liberty.

The ways and means of recovering debts shall be regulated by the law.

Article 44:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the inviolability of residence is guaranteed. No one, including the State representative can enter or search a residence without the permission of the resident and except in the circumstances and procedures specified by the law.

Article 45:

In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, secrecy of correspondence, telephone talks, telegram and other kinds of communications is guaranteed.

No one, including a State representative, can intercept telephone talks, telegraphic communications and other types of communications except as under the provisions of the law.

Article 46:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan who while performing their duties suffer unlawful damage by state organs, social organizations and responsible officials shall be entitled to compensation. Conditions and procedures of compensation shall be regulated by law.

Article 47:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are entitled to take part in social-political life and the administration of the country, directly or through their representatives.

Article 48:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have the right to elect or be elected. Conditions and procedures of exercising this right shall be regulated by law.

Article 49:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoy the right of freedom of thought and expression.

Citizens of the DRA can exercise this right openly, orally and in writing, in accordance with provisions of the law.

Article 50:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have the right to peaceful assembly and demonstration in accordance with the provisions of the law.

The State shall place at their disposal, buildings, avenues, grounds for holding assemblies, meetings, marches and demonstrations, provided that it does not disturb public security and decency.

Article 51:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoy the right to petition, criticism and suggestion.

State organs, social organizations and responsible officials are bound to consider the petitions, criticisms, proposals within the time prescribed by law and take necessary actions in regard to them. Persecution for criticism is forbidden.

Article 52:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoy the right to work with pay.

The State through enactment and application of just and progressive laws on labour, creates necessary conditions for citizens to exercise this right.

Article 53:

Imposition of forced labour is forbidden.

Performance of forced labour in wartime, natural calamity and other states of emergency which threaten public life and order shall be excluded from this.

Article 54:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, keeping in view the needs of society and the basis of specialization, have the right to choose their occupation and be admitted to state on payment.

Article 55:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall have the right to

The State defines the working time and period of holidays with pay and the procedure of work during holidays, festivals and fairs and provides conditions for rest, growth of cultural, artistic establishments, physical training, sports and healthy recreations.

Article 56:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall have the right to education free of charge.

The State shall adopt necessary measures for eradication of illiteracy, generalization of balance education, education in mother tongue, ensure compulsory elementary education, gradual expansion of general technical and vocational education and growth of higher education for train national cadres.

Article 57:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have the right to health and social security. The State will adopt necessary measures through expansion of all-round balance and country-wide medical services, expansion of hospitals, health centres, training of doctors and medical personnel, prevention of epidemic diseases, expansion of free health services, arrangement and encouragement of private medical services, improvement of material welfare of elders, war and work handicapped and families of martyrs of revolution.

Article 58:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoy the right to scientific, technical and artistic activities.

The State ensures systematic progress of science and training of scientific cadres, preserves the rights of authors and inventors and encourages and protects scientific researches in all spheres, generalises the effective use of the outcome of scientific researches.

Article 59:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have the right to travel and free choice of settlement and residence in the country.

The State is authorised to ban travel, settlement and residence in some areas of the country for the purposes of preservation of security and public order, prevention of epidemic diseases and preservation of the rights and liberties of other people.

Article 60:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoy the right to travel abroad and return home.

Article 61:

Every citizen of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is bound to observe the Constitution and laws of the State of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Ignorance of provisions of law is no excuse.

Article 62:

Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and foreigners, are bound to pay tax and duties to the State in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article 63:

The defence of homeland, independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country is the praiseworthy duty of the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Conditions for service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the DRA shall be regulated by the provisions of law.

Article 64:

The State shall provide necessary conditions for the citizens to exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms and discharge of duties.

No one has the right to exercise the rights and liberties enshrined in the law against public rest and to the detriment of the rights and liberties of other citizens.

Chapter four Loya Jirgah

Article 65:

Loya Jirgah, in accordance with national historical traditions, is the highest manifestation of the will of the people of Afghanistan.

Article 66:

Loya Jirgah consists of:
Members of the National Assembly,
Governors and Mayor of Kabul,
Members of the Council of Ministers,
Members of the Supreme Court,
Attorney General and deputies of Attorney General,
Members of the executive board of the National Front and
Outstanding political, scientific, social and religious figures who shall be appointed by the president on the recommendation of the secretariat of the National Front.

Article 67:

The Loya Jirgah enjoys the following powers:

- 1-Approval, amendment and interpretation of the Constitution of the DRA.
- 2-Election of the President and approval of the President's resignation.
- 3-Approval of the declaration of war and truce.
- 4-Adoption of decisions on the most important questions regarding the national destiny of the country.

Article 68:

Except in cases defined otherwise in this Constitution the Loya Jirgah shall be opened by the President and its sessions shall be held under the chairmanship of the President or any other person appointed as deputy by the President.

Decisions of the Loya Jirgah, except in cases stated otherwise in this Constitution, shall be adopted by a majority vote of the members present.

Article 69:

The procedure of the Loya Jirgah shall be approved at its first session.

Chapter five National Assembly of the DRA

Article 70:

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is the high legislative and the power organ.

Article 71:

The National Assembly is composed of the House of Representatives and Senate. Both houses enjoy equal rights.

Article 72:

A deputy to the House of Representatives shall be elected by the citizens of the DRA for a period of six years.

Article 73:

Two thirds of the senators shall be elected and one-third shall be appointed.

The Senators shall be elected and appointed as follows:

1-Two from every province, Kabul city and under equivalent to it for a period of six years.

2-Two from every province for a period of three years by the Jirgah of people's representatives and its equivalent councils.

3-The remaining one-third of the members shall be appointed for a period of three years by the President from among the learned, scholarly and credible individuals and national personalities.

Article 74:

The number, conditions and procedure of election and appointment to the House of Representatives and Senate shall be regulated by law.

Article 75:

In addition to powers prescribed in this Constitution, the National Assembly shall also enjoy the following powers:

1-Approval, amendment and nullification of laws and decrees and their presentation to the President.

2-Interpretation of laws.

3-Ratification and annulment of international treaties.

4-Considering and endorsement of the basic aspects of the home and foreign policy of the country and the line of government's activity.

5-Approval of socio-economic development plans and endorsement of the government's report on the performance thereof.

6-Approval of the State budget and endorsement of the report on its performance.

7-Establishment of administrative units and their changes.

8-Formation and abolition of ministries, State committees and the central organs equivalent to ministry.

9-Determining the categories and conditions of granting orders, medals and honorary titles.

10-Endorsement of the recommendation of the President on the appointment of Vice-Presidents.

11-Establishing relations with foreign countries and international organizations.

12-Granting privileges of substantial importance in national economy, including monopoly.

Article 76:

Each House of the National Assembly elects at its first session the credentials commission from among its members to authenticate the credentials. The commission reports the results of its findings to the House and the House shall decide thereon.

Article 77:

The House of Representatives elects at its first session, from amongst its deputies, the chairman, two deputy-chairmen and two secretaries for its whole period of tenure.

The Senate elects from among senators, the chairman, two deputy-chairmen and two secretaries for a three-year period. The chairman of each House shall conduct debates in the House and shall be responsible for the maintenance of order in the House.

In the absence of the Chairmen, one of the Deputy-Chairmen shall discharge their duties.

Article 78:

The ordinary sessions of the National Assembly are held twice a year. The first session is opened on Hoot 1st and the second session on Sunbula 1st. If Hoot 1st and Sunbula 1st corresponds to holidays the ordinary session shall be held on the first day after holidays.

The extraordinary session of the Houses of National Assembly can be held on the decision of the President, demand of each chairman of the Houses or requisition by one-fifth of the members of each House.

Article 79:

The Houses of National Assembly can hold separate or joint sessions. The President shall inaugurate and prorogue the sessions of the National Assembly. The President shall designate the joint sessions of the National Assembly and designate the chairmanship in turn to one of the chairmen of the Houses of National Assembly.

The first session of the National Assembly shall be summoned by the President within 30 days after the elections to House of Representatives of the National Assembly are held.

Article 86:

The quorum for the houses of the National Assembly shall be completed when two-thirds of the members of each house are present. The decision of each house is passed by a majority vote of its total membership.

Article 87:

Deliberations of the separate and joint sessions of the National Assembly shall be open, unless the house decides to meet in closed session.

Article 88:

The National Assembly at its first joint session, shall consider the composition of the government designate and its line of activity, on the basis of the report of the chairman of the council of ministers, and take decision on a vote of confidence.

Article 89:

Both houses of the National Assembly shall elect standing commissions from among their members for the preliminary consideration and preparation of issues within their competence and for the supervision over the execution of laws of the DRA and other decisions and resolutions of each House, as well as for maintaining control over the activities of State organs.

Article 90:

Each House of the National Assembly is empowered to form enquiry, auditing and other temporary commissions as may be required.

The tasks and procedures of the enquiry and auditing commissions shall be regulated by each House of the National Assembly.

The State organs, social organizations, officials in charge, private and mixed institutions are duty-bound to fulfill the demands of these commissions and put necessary documents at their disposal.

Article 91:

The decisions of the National Assembly adopted by the Houses separately or jointly are valid after they are signed by the President. When there exists difference of views between the House of Representatives and Senate a joint commission consisting of an equal number of members from both Houses shall be set up to settle the differences.

If the joint commission does not reach agreement, the matter shall be discussed in the joint session of the National Assembly and decision shall be taken by a majority vote of members. The decisions of National Assembly become effective after they are signed by the President.

Article 92:

Members of the National Assembly have the right to put questions to the Head of the Government or any member of the Council of Ministers and heads of other central organs on important issues.

The answers to questions shall be presented in oral or written form to the joint session of National Assembly.

The National Assembly may consider the confidence in the government on the basis of the answers presented to the question session.

A government which has lost confidence can continue in office till a new government is formed.

Article 93:

Members of the Council of Ministers, having consultative vote may attend the meetings of the Houses of the National Assembly.

Article 94:

Members of the National Assembly have the right to express their views in the separate and joint sessions.

No member of the National Assembly shall be subjected to criminal persecution for the vote or views expressed inside or outside the assembly's session. Except in cases of self-evident crimes no member of the National Assembly shall be arrested, detained and subjected to legal persecution without

the agreement of the House concerned or without the agreement of the Chairman during the interval between two sessions of the National Assembly.

Article 95:

The following authorities enjoy the right of proposing the law:

- 1-The President.
- 2-The Standing Commissions of the National Assembly

3-At least one-tenth of membership of each House.

- 4-The Council of Ministers.
- 5-The Supreme Court.
- 6-The Attorney General's Office.
- 7-The Executive Body of the National Front.

Article 96:

The President can declare the dissolution of the National Assembly. The dissolution of the Assembly also encompasses the senators appointed by the President.

Reelections shall be held at least within 30 days after the dissolution of the National Assembly.

The dissolution of the new National Assembly cannot take place until one year after the reelections. The National Assembly cannot be dissolved during the last six months of office of the President.

Article 97:

The laws and resolutions of the National Assembly shall be published in Pashto and Dari languages and can be published in the languages of other nationalities of the country as well.

Article 98:

The rules of procedure of the National Assembly and its standing commissions along with the salary scale of members of National Assembly shall be regulated by law. The National Assembly cannot be dissolved during the last six months of office of the President.

Chapter six The President

Article 99:

The President is the head of the State and shall exercise his authority in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

Article 100:

The President shall be elected by a majority of vote of the members of the Loya Jirgah for a term of seven years. A person cannot be elected as president for more than two terms.

Article 101:

Every Muslim citizen of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan who has completed the age of 40 and, is born of Afghan parents and enjoy the civil and political rights can be elected as President.

Article 102:

After being elected the President shall take the following oath:

"I swear in the name of Allah, the Almighty, to protect the sacred religion of Islam, observe the Constitution of the DRA and supervise its implementation and safeguard the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, to preserve the basic rights and freedoms of the citizens and apply all my efforts for ensuring social justice, people's prosperity, strengthening of peace and progress of the country".

Article 103:

The President enjoys the following powers:

- 1-Supreme command of the Armed Forces.
- 2-Approval and signing of laws, decrees and resolutions of the National Assembly and supervision of their conformity with the Constitution.
- 3-Convening and inauguration of the ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the National Assembly.
- 4-Dissolution of the National Assembly and determining the date for reelection to it.
- 5-Extension of the term of power of the National Assembly according to the article (135) of this constitution.
- 6-Inviting, inaugurating and presiding over the Loya Jirgah except in cases prescribed otherwise in the constitution.
- 7-Appointment of the Prime Minister designate to form the government and approval of the head and members of the government after receiving the vote of confidence from the National Assembly, and acceptance of their resignations.
- 8-Appointment of the Chief Justice, deputies and members of the Supreme Court.
- 9-Appointment of Attorney General and his deputies.
- 10-Approval of the appointment, promotion and pension of judges, high ranking officials and officers of the armed forces of the DRA, according to the provisions of the law.

11-Taking decision on ascertaining public opinion or referendum on major political, social and economic issues.

12-Pardon and remission of sentences.

13-Receiving the credentials of the heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

14-Accrediting of heads of DRA's diplomatic missions to foreign countries and the international organizations.

15-Declaring a state of emergency, general and partial mobilization and termination thereof.

16-Declaration of war and, armistice with the agreement of Loya Jirgah.

17-Authorization to issue money.

18-Granting citizenship and asylum.

19-Voting the decision of the National Assembly.

20-Granting orders, medals and honorary titles.

21-Exercise of other powers in accordance with the law.

Article 98:

The President can veto the decisions of the National Assembly if he does not agree with it.

The decision vetoed by the President is not enforceable and shall be returned to the National Assembly until the causes are met.

The President can at any time revoke his decision vetoing the resolution of the National Assembly. In case the said resolutions are approved again by a two-third majority vote of the members of each House, the decision of the National Assembly shall be valid and effective.

Article 99:

The President shall continue in office till the end of his term except in the event of death, long and incurable disease or resignation. In all cases when the President is unable to discharge his duties the presidential functions shall be entrusted to the first Vice-President.

In case of permanently loss of ability to work, death or resignation of the President, the first Vice-President shall invite the Loya Jirgah within one month to elect the new President.

In the event of resignation, the President shall submit his resignation directly to the Loya Jirgah, and incurable disease or resignation. In all cases when the President is unable to discharge his duties the presidential functions shall be entrusted to the first Vice-President.

In case of permanently loss of ability to work, death or resignation of the President, the first Vice-President shall invite the Loya Jirgah within one month to elect the new President.

In the event of resignation, the President shall submit his resignation directly to the Loya Jirgah.

Chapter seven Council of Ministers of the DRA

Article 104:

The Council of Ministers (government) is the highest executive and administrative organ of State power in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The Council of Ministers is composed of:

- Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister).
- Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.
- Ministers, presidents of the State Committees and heads of the central organs equivalent to ministry.

Article 105:

The Prime Minister designate shall present to the first session of the National Assembly, the home and foreign policy line of the government for getting the vote of confidence of the Assembly.

Article 106:

The Council of Ministers is responsible to the National Assembly and to the President, and shall submit reports to them.

Article 107:

In order to tackle the problems relating to maintaining leadership over national economy and other issues of State Administration, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers is established as permanent executive organ of the Council of Ministers.

Article 108:

The Council of Ministers shall discharge its duties until the formation of a new government which gets the vote of confidence by the National Assembly.

Article 109:

The Council of Ministers shall discharge its duties until the formation of a new government which gets the vote of confidence by the National Assembly.

Article 105:

The structure, composition, authority and procedure of activities of the Council of Ministers are regulated by law.

Chapter eight Local organs of state power and administration

Article 106:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from the local administrative point of view is divided into provinces, divisions, districts, cities, sub-districts, precincts and villages.

The executive bodies of the local councils of people's deputies are: the executive committees elected by the local councils of people's deputies.

The executive committees of local councils are respectively led by governors of provinces, divisions, district commissioners, mayors, subdistrict administrators, heads of precincts and village chiefs.

The deputies to local councils are responsible to their electors and bound to report to them.

Article 107:

The local organs of state power and administration shall deal with all matters related to local government, keeping in view the public interest of the country.

All the institutions, organizations and the concerned local departments are duty-bound to implement the decisions of local organs of state power and administration in the localities.

Article 108:

The term of office of local councils is three years.

Article 109:

The structure, duties, powers and procedure of activities of local councils shall be regulated by law.

Chapter nine Foreign policy

Article 110:

The foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan rests on ensuring the national interests, consolidation of independence and national sovereignty, territorial integrity of the country, preservation of peace and world security, peaceful coexistence, equality of rights and all-round development of international co-operation.

Article 111:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan respects and observes the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other accepted principles and norms of international law.

Article 112:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan pursues the policy of non-alignment as a significant principle of the State's foreign policy and as one of the founders of the non-aligned movement strives for achieving its objectives.

Article 113:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is in favour of establishing friendly relations with all countries, irrespective of their socio-political and economic systems, based on the principles of equality of rights, mutual respect to independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-resort to force or threat of use of force, denunciation of all forms of interference and aggression and sincere fulfillment of international commitments in accordance with the accepted principles and norms of international law.

Article 114:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the struggle of the peoples and nations for peace, national independence, democracy, social progress and the right of nations to self-determination and fights against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism, fascism, apartheid and fascism.

Article 115:

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the struggle for total disarmament, cessation of arms race of the earth and in space, non-proliferation and elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and other kinds of mass destructive weapons, dismantling of the aggressive military bases, relaxation of international tensions and establishing a new and just international economic and information order.

Article 116:

War propaganda is forbidden in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Chapter ten Judiciary

Article 117:

Judgement in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall be rendered only by the court in accordance with the provisions of law. In the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan include: Supreme Court, provincial courts, divisional courts, district courts, city courts, subdistrict courts, precinct courts and courts of the armed forces.

The State may set up specialized courts within a unified system of judiciary.

Article 118:

The Supreme Court as the highest judicial organ heads the unified system of judiciary in the country and is composed of the Chief Justice, deputies of the chief justice and members of the Supreme Court.

In accordance with the provisions of law, the Supreme Court shall supervise the activities of the courts and ensure the uniform application of laws by all courts.

Article 119:

The Chief Justice, deputy chief justices and members of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President for a five-year period.

The Supreme Court reports about its activities to the President.

The judges shall be independent in their judicial practices and shall only yield to the law.

The courts shall consider the cases and render judgements thereon, based on the principle of equality of the parties to a case, before the law and the court.

Article 121:

The judges shall apply the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the DRA in the cases under their consideration.

Wherever no explicit provision exists in the law, the court shall, following the provision of the Shariat of Islam, render a decision that secures justice in the best possible way.

Article 122:

Trials shall be held openly in the courts, the circumstances under which a case is considered closed trials, are determined by the law.

The judgement of the court shall be openly delivered in all circumstances.

Article 123:

The consideration and judgement by the courts shall be conducted in Pashto and Dari languages and/or in the language of majority of the residents of the place. If one party to the case does not understand the language in which the proceedings are conducted, he is guaranteed the right to become acquainted with the materials and documents of the case through an authentic interpreter and the right to speak in the mother tongue in the court.

Article 124:

The decisions of the courts must contain the statement of their reasons. The enforcement of the final verdict of the courts is obligatory, except in the case of a death sentence, whereby the execution of the judgement shall be subject to endorsement by the President.

Article 125:

The structure, composition, jurisdiction and method of the activity of courts shall be regulated by the law.

CHAPTER ELEVEN ATTORNEY OFFICE

Article 126:

The public prosecutor's office of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a unified system based on the principle of centralism and is composed of:

The Attorney General, attorneys of provinces, divisions, districts, subdistricts, cities, precincts and attorney of the armed forces: The State can set up a special attorney's office within the unified attorney system.

Article 127:

The Attorney General shall lead the activity of attorneys of the country.

The attorneys are independent in the performance of their duties and are subject only to the law and the Attorney General.

Article 128:

Attorney General is appointed by the President for a five-year period.

The Attorney General is responsible and bound to report on his activities to the President.

Article 129:

Supervision over the implementation and uniform observance in the country of the state committees and other central organs of state administration, executive committees of local councils, state, mixed and private institutions, departments, co-operatives, social organizations, officials in charge and citizens shall be undertaken by the Attorney General and the attorneys subordinate to him.

Article 130:

The structure, composition, authority and method of activity of attorneys shall be regulated by the law.

CHAPTER TWELVE GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 131:

The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoys the highest legal credibility. Laws and other legislative documents shall be regulated on its foundation and in conformity with its provisions.

Article 132:

The state and all its organs shall function on the basis of this Constitution and the laws of the DRA and ensure legal order, interest of the society, rights and legal interests of the citizens. State, co-operative, mixed and private institutions, parties, social organizations and officials in charge are obliged to observe the Constitution and laws of the DRA.

Article 133:

Decisions on the approval of this constitution and its amendment shall be on the proposal of the President or National Assembly by a majority vote of at least two-thirds of total membership of the Loya Jirgah.

Article 134:

Wherever the preservation of independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal security become impossible through the channels provided for in this Constitution due to war, danger of war, disturbances or similar conditions, a state of emergency may be proclaimed by the President.

Should a state of emergency continue for more than three months, the consent of the Loya Jirgah is imperative for its extension.

Article 135:

In the state of emergency, the President shall have the following powers:

- 1- Extension of the tenure of office of the National Assembly.
- 2- Delegation of authority of National Assembly to Council of Ministers in full or partially.
- 3- Partial transfer of powers of general courts to special and military courts.
- 4- Suspension or renewal of the validity of some of the provisions of Chapter Three of this Constitution.

Temporary transfer of capital from Kabul to any other place.

6- Exercise of other authorities in accordance with the law.

Article 136:

The laws of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall come into force from the date of its adoption by the Loya Jirgah.

With the enforcement of this Constitution the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan shall be abroasted.

Article 137:

The laws and other legislative documents issued prior to the enforcement of this Constitution shall be considered effective provided they are not repugnant to the provisions of this Constitution.

KABUL, NEW TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1987





Leon B. Poullada

Leon B. Poullada, 74, a former career diplomat who served as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Togo in western Africa and spent five years in Afghanistan as an economic counselor, died of prostate cancer Friday at his St. Paul home.

Poullada entered the Foreign Service in July 1948 and was sent to Colombo, Ceylon, (now known as Sri Lanka) until 1951. He was studying South Asian languages at the University of Pennsylvania when he met and married Leila Jackson, a St. Paul native who also was training to be a Foreign Service officer.

In August 1952 Poullada was assigned to the consulate general's office in Lahore, Pakistan, and became economic counselor to the U.S. Embassy in Afghanistan in July 1954.

He returned to Washington, D.C., in May 1960 and scored his "first great diplomatic accomplishment" by becoming a principal negotiator to help India and Pakistan resolve their disputes over the Indus River, Leila Poullada said.

Poullada became U.S. Ambassador to Togoland in 1961 and pioneered one of the first Peace Corps medical and fishery programs in Africa.

He retired from the Foreign Service in April 1964 and spent the next year and a half traveling across western Europe and Scandinavia in a Volkswagen bus with his wife and three small children.

He later received a doctorate degree from Princeton University, studying in Afghanistan for a year as a Fulbright scholar. "We took our vehicle on the ferry to Antwerp (Belgium) and drove from Antwerp to Afghanistan, about 5,000 miles, with three children," Leila Poullada said yesterday. "The kids went everywhere with us."

The thing that struck one most about Leon Poullada was his eyes. They were bright blue and sparkling - almost always with humor but on occasion with indignation and anger. I first met Leon in the mid-1960s when I was working at the Asia Society and he became involved with the Society's Afghanistan Council. As chairman of that group Leon was responsible for instigating a wide variety of activities on Afghanistan. My job was to see that they took place - hence sometimes anger! In 1968 when he was to return to Afghanistan as a Fulbright scholar, Leon offered to write reports on his impressions of what was happening there for the Council to circulate. His reports were newsy and wide-ranging. Here are a few excerpts:

The Russians seem quite prepared to take advantage of a weakening American effort by maintaining & even raising their aid to Afghanistan as a practical & dramatic demonstration that their interest in the country is not transitory but steady & dependable in contrast to the whimsies & fluctuations of American policy. This long-term psychological effect on Afghan leaders is certain to be harmful to American interests in this important strategic area. This is a failure in the US to practice timely preventative diplomacy which, by the investment of very modest insurance premiums, could prevent a situation from arising in which vast expenditures of resources are later required. [#1. 2/68]

The taxicab business is flourishing. A recent press survey showed taxi owners netting about Afs. 300/day & paying off the cost of a cab in less than two years. Drivers average about Afs. 3,000/month - well above department heads in government service. In 1959 there were 40 taxis in Kabul; now there are over 1,300. [#2. 5/68]

There are of course some of the younger leaders, especially among the leftists & students, who want to plunge forward toward complete political liberty of every kind without regard to historical precedents about which, in any case, they know very little... On the other hand there are the arch-conservatives who would dig into entrenched positions & refuse to see that the social & economic changes which have already taken place require a new political structure to support & carry them forward. In between are a few members of the intelligentsia who recognize the need for caution but feel that the King is carrying it to the extreme of timidity. [#3. 1/69]

Leon's reports were the beginning of what became the Afghanistan Council Newsletter (1970) and later the Afghanistan Forum (1983). Many of us have benefitted from Leon's wisdom & friendship and we shall miss him. Our sympathy goes to his family - and to Afghanistan. We have lost a friend.

The Editor

Poullada taught political science at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff from 1971 to 1976 and afterward spent another year in Afghanistan.

He and his wife began working on a book about U.S.-Afghan relations in 1974 that is about half complete, she said. "He always worked hard to improve the quality of American diplomacy and to educate the American public as to what diplomacy really is and what kind of support (it) needs. ... This has been his second life's work."

Poullada remained actively involved with the Center for Afghanistan Studies at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, which helps provide literacy courses for freedom fighters, and American Aid for Afghans, a group that is trying to raise money for a clinic for Afghan women refugees.

A native of Santa Rosa, N.M., Poullada was the son of a Mexican immigrant who served as a doctor for the

sheep-farming community. The family later moved to Los Angeles where he earned a law degree from Southwestern University. He was a decorated veteran of World War II. After the war he served in West Germany as a counselor during the Nuremberg war trials and as a defense counsel in the Nordhausen-Dora missile factory trials in Dachau.

He and his wife frequently returned to St. Paul during their overseas career and moved to the Twin Cities in 1983.

Besides his wife, other survivors include sons, Peter of Istanbul, Turkey, and Philip of Port Washington, N.Y.; a daughter, Sofia Hafiza Poullada of Saratoga, Calif., and a granddaughter.

Memorials are suggested to OBGYN Clinic, American Aid for Afghans, 9900 SW. Greenburg Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223.

Minneapolis Star and Tribune

Saturday/July 18/1987



CHRONOLOGY

Early June items from BIA:

6/1 - The volume of DRA private sector imports last year was \$537m; exports were \$223m.

- Sayed Ghulam Reza, a former teacher recently released from prison, said, "When I was in prison I realized that I was not detained for vengeance but for retraining & the prison was indeed a school for all the deceived ones to adopt a straight path."

Statistics: 5,063 new literacy courses will be established for 85,600 people bringing the total number of literacy courses to 22,650 with 450,000 students. 77 new schools will be set up bringing the total to 1,321 with 777,500 pupils. 32 new kindergardens & nurseries are scheduled for 21,300 children.

6/2 - The KNT reports that 3 "Stingers" have recently been confiscated.

- More numbers: Over 50,000 refugees have returned home; 5,600 prisoners have been released; 1,000 villages have been "freed from the influence of extremist elements"; over 20,000 armed men have joined the people's state.

- Heavy rains have caused floods in Bamiyan. However the rains have benefited the country as a whole. Water is plentiful & agricultural production has doubled.

6/3 - Sultan Ali Keshtmand led a delegation on an official & friendly visit to Iraq.

6/4 - Explosions rocked Peshawar & Rawalpindi killing 11 & injuring 50. In Peshawar the inhabitants marched in protest calling for Zia's regime to begin direct talks with the DRA gov't & "to recognize it officially."

- 5,000 copies of a new periodical were published in Kunar. The Pushto-language journal carries the "hot national & local news."

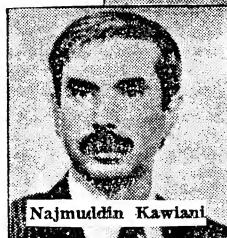
6/7 - The DRA & Iraq signed an agreement on trade exchange, economic, cultural, scientific & technological co-operation.

6/10 - DRA Press Release 07/87 - The PDPA Plenum members promoted Saied Moh'd Gulabzoi, Interior Minister, to full Politburo membership. Najmuddin Kawiani & Niaz Moh'd Momand were elected alternate members. Anahita Ratebzad was relieved from Party offices because of "her retirement from membership of the Politburo of the CC."

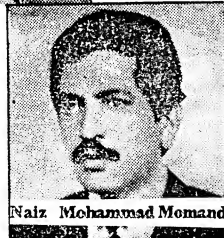


Col. Gen. Gulabzoi,

KNT 6/13



Najmuddin Kawiani



Niaz Mohammad Momand

6/12 - BIA - Antonov-26 passenger plane on a flight from Kandahar to Kabul was shot down by "criminals attached to an extremist group" yesterday. The plane was hit by "Stinger guided missiles." 53 persons died & 2 were seriously injured.

- The final draft of the DRA labor law was drafted by the RC Presidium. The law will provide "many facilities to the workers & employees & ensure working discipline & boost production." (See p. 29)

6/14 - BIA - Soviet Education Minister Sergei Scherbakov arrived in Kabul on 6/12 for an official & friendly visit.

- A law on int'l conventions & agreements will be drafted.

- Over 1m people were treated free of charge for malaria last year.

- Rafiullah Tokhi, head of the cultural committee of the "Tripartate Islamic Unity Group" went to the Afghan Embassy in Delhi to "join the process of nat'l reconciliation." He & his family were flown to Kabul (See 6/23).
- Afghan Liberation 1,3 - Mujahid Cdr. Malang was killed in the fighting at Kandahar.

6/16 - WSJ - The Defense Dept, now giving what it calls "humanitarian civic assistance," recently sent 25 plane-loads of surplus non-lethal military goods (scarves, blankets, wool shirts) to the Afghan mujahideen.

6/17 - BIA - An Indian industrial & trade exhibition opened in Kabul. It will last 10 days & features products from 150 Indian companies.

6/21 - NYT - From an article on "Secret Saudi Funds Used as Prop for US Policies: There is some question whether it

was the United States or Saudi Arabia that initiated the close cooperation to aid Afghan insurgents. The operation dates to the Carter Administration, and there is no doubt it is the largest program of Saudi-American cooperation on foreign policy today.

"The United States talked about a joint program, and said if the Saudis put up \$250 million, the United States would match it," said an American with close ties to the Saudis. The United States share was part of a secret appropriation hidden in the intelligence budget, and to this day it has never been openly discussed in Congress.

The annual payments have risen since the program started, in part because the Saudis and the Americans have similar interests in opposing Soviet domination of Afghanistan.

"In the early years of the Reagan Administration, we used the Saudis to finance the Afghan program," a former Government official said.

Pakistan, the base for the Afghan rebels, has also received Saudi aid at the urging of the United States. That program began in 1981, at the beginning of the Reagan Administration, when Alexander M. Haig Jr. was Secretary of State. Again, the Saudis were motivated by a desire to oppose Communism and aid a Moslem country.

One former diplomat said of the Pakistan program, "We didn't have the money, and Haig didn't want to go to Congress for it."

6/22 - Morning News - 5 Egyptians & a Yemeni were among 15 Arab volunteers killed in Afghanistan in the past 3 weeks.

- BIA - Masooma Esmati Wardak is the head of the All Afghan Women's Council.

6/23 - Rafiullah Tokhi (see 6/14) at a press conference in Kabul said, "Nobody except the opposition extremists has a hostile approach for the establishment of a coalition gov't." (BIA)

6/23 - BIA - Najib, addressing a conference of journalists from the non-aligned countries: "The principle of non-alignment, to some extent, means neutrality. But this concept has got different meanings... One



could be neutral on account of one's own free will, or, on the basis of a non-aligned treaty. Neutrality can be general or regional. Neutrality can be full & partial & finally, neutrality can exist on the basis of commonly shared non-aligned ideas..."

Najib also expressed regret over "a temporary pause of Afghanistan's active participation in the activities of the OIC. No reason exists for this. Our country - an Islamic state - has, time & again, proved its loyalty to the sacred religion of Islam."

6/24 - NYT - A month-long battle around Kandahar has left hundreds of combatants & civilians dead & wounded. Much of the fighting took place near Arghandab, 6 miles north of Kandahar.

6/29 - LA Times - Najib said that as of 7/15 he would offer official posts to members of the political opposition & that a law allowing political parties would be passed (see p. 30). However, any new political party will have to support non-alignment & friendship with the USSR.

6/30 - BIA - State employees & civil servants will receive a 50% increase in their lunch allowances plus free wheat & edible oil as of 7/23. The DRA was subsidizing flour to the tune of Afs. 2,310,000,000.

7/1 - BIA - A car bomb, "placed by extremist elements," exploded near the Education Ministry's printing press building, killing 1 & injuring 9.

7/2 - BIA - Iran's chargé d'affaires in Kabul was summoned to the DRA Foreign Ministry to receive a note protesting Iran's refusal to let Bakhtar Airline make a special flight to Iran to pick up Afghans who wish to come home. The chargé said that Afghans who want to go home can return "through the border."

- This year 900 Afghans graduated from higher educational institutions in the Soviet Union. - The RC Presidium approved the political parties law (see p.30) & told the Council of Ministers to prepare a press law.

7/5 - BIA - Members of the 1st jirgah of nomads called on the UN Sec'y Gen'l to use his office to restore peace & tranquility in Afghanistan.

The jirgah elected 31 tribal elders to the Central Council of Nomads of Afghanistan.

- "The life of Afghan refugees in Iranian camps is so sorrowful & miserable that there is no cemetery for the burial of dead persons," said an Afghan returnee. Burial requires a bribe of 20,000 tumans.

- The PDPA CC issued a new 123-page bimonthly magazine called Party Life. Other CC publications are the daily Haqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur & the gazette Darya (Village [sic]), which is devoted to peasant life.

7/6 - LA Times - A Reagan Administration official said that during the past 6 weeks mujahideen have inflicted the highest casualties ever on elite Soviet troops along the Pak-Af border. The official said that the Administration is determined to increase the amount & sophistication of American weapons supplied to the mujahideen until Washington sees "serious indications" that the Soviets are ready to withdraw their troops. Mujahideen received 150 Stingers late last summer & another 600 this year.

7/7 - BIA - An explosion in Peshawar destroyed the office of the "Committee of Scholars of Afghanistan."

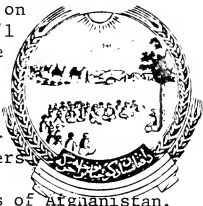
- Sultan Ali Keshtmand arrived in Ulan Bator on an official & friendly visit to Mongolia.

- DRA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil asked the OIC to reinstate the DRA's membership.

7/12 - LA Times - Suleiman Laeq, DRA Minister of Tribes & Nationalities, said in a press conference in Delhi that the DRA is ready to accept the return of ex-king Zahir Shah if it would help restore peace in Afghanistan. He said that DRA authorities had had no contact with Zahir Shah.

Speaking to reporters after the news conference, Laeq appeared to indicate that Kabul is not optimistic about a role for the former king in an Afghan settlement.

* "If the deposed king was popular in our country, he would not be



living in exile. When he left [in 1973], nobody resisted for him," Laeq said.

"If we were convinced that by putting the crown again on the head of the king everything would be OK, we would have done it."

7/12 - SCMP - A bomb blast rocked the main office of Hezb-i-Islami (Khalis) headquarters in Peshawar yesterday, injuring 2 & shattering window panes. A party spokesman blamed Khad, the DRA secret police.

7/13 - SCMP - Afghan guerrilla leaders have shelved plans to hold elections among refugees & mujahideen. Differences between groups of the 7-party alliance over whether women should vote, whether the principle of elections was Islamic & whether it was really possible to hold free elections inside Afghanistan (since many mujahideen-held areas are controlled by only one group) caused the postponement.

- BIA - The DRA & India signed an agreement to expand the Indira Gandhi Child Health Inst. in Kabul.

- The British chargé in Kabul was given a note protesting the British equipping anti-Afghan extremists with blowpipe missiles & other weapons.

7/14 - SCMP - Stingers are changing war tactics:

Increased bombardment by artillery and heavy ground-to-ground rockets are replacing air bombing, strafing by helicopter gunships, and helicopter-borne assault, they say.

Bombing raids are now made from greater heights or at low level. "Because of the

Stingers they are either flying too high, so most of the bombs miss, or too low, where they are easier to hit with our machine guns," an Afghan analyst said.

Reports are also reaching Islamabad, in neighbouring Pakistan, that the communist-led forces are beginning to use helicopters for bombing raids at night, he added.



Cartoon from Pravda 4/26

reprinted in Zeitbild #14 7/15

"Stinger"

7/16 - BIA - The DRA will give Af's. 38,800 to each of the 7,000 pilgrims making the haj this year.

7/16 - NYT - Pakistani Pres. Zia accused opponents of his country's support for Afghan mujahideen of the bombings in Karachi on 7/14. At least 72 people were killed & 300 hurt. The US State Dept. said the bombings appeared to be the work of Khad agents.

- SCMP - Najib extended a "unilateral ceasefire for another 6 months. In a broadcast on 7/14 he said that it had "become clear that we cannot solve our issues through sheer use of force." He also offered to "share the power in practice." (See p. 30)

7/18 - BIA - The DRA refuted the "slandorous allegations" made by Zia associating the DRA with the explosions in Karachi.

- The DRA import/export promotion bank gave the nat'l traders a credit of Afs. 3,570m during the 1st quarter of this year - an 80% increase over last year.

7/19 - BIA - "Extremist elements" placed a bomb on a motorcycle in the Microryan area of Kabul. In the explosion 3 died & 10 were injured.

- The draft of the new constitution was published (see p.31).

- The Soviet Union's share in the DRA development plan for 1986-91 is expected to be \$790m.

- Najib arrived in Moscow for a "short visit." On 7/20 the LA Times called it a "surprise visit."

7/21 - Santa Monica Outlook - Najib met with Gorbachev to discuss ways of ending the Afghan war. They also agreed on a Soviet-Afghan space flight as a symbol of friendship between the two countries.

"Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union wants Afghanistan to remain an independent, sovereign, nonaligned state," Tass said. "What road it will take, what government it will have, what development program it will be implementing is for the Afghan people to decide."

Najib expressed gratitude for Soviet support of his government's policy, which includes a recent six-month extension of the cease-fire he proclaimed Jan. 15, the report said.

- BIA - Najib left Moscow for "Krasnodor."

7/22 - LA Times - Najib said his party would be willing to share some gov't posts with rebels, according to correspondent William Eaton writing from Moscow. In listing the possible ministries, however, he omitted Defense, secret police & Internal Affairs.

(See p.30)

Even the post of premier might be available to the opposition forces, Najib told reporters, but specific allocation of ministries would be subject to negotiation.

7/23 - NYT - Richard Murphy, US Asst. Sec'y of State for NE & South Asian Affairs, told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee that the US must be mindful of its global security interests & the importance to these interests of "maintaining our support for Pakistan in its vital posture of opposition to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan." He said Pakistan is "carrying an enormous burden in caring for 3m Afghan refugees & standing up to Soviet pressure & intimidation."

- Gorbachev on Afghanistan: Every regional conflict has its own roots, its own — so to say — medical record and its own specific remedy.

I shall try to demonstrate this, taking as an example Afghanistan, where the policy of national reconciliation consistently pursued by the Afghan leadership is gradually changing the situation in that country.

The idea has been put forward of forming a coalition government with a division of power among all the forces which stands for, or are prepared to stand for, internal peace, for stopping bloodshed. . . .

All this creates conditions for peace in Afghanistan. Ignoring this means unwillingness to solve the Afghan problem.

National reconciliation in Afghanistan is, certainly, a matter for the Afghans themselves, including those who found themselves outside Afghan borders. What is required here is dialogue, negotiations, greater trust between the parties to the conflict.

In principle, Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has been decided upon. We favor a short time frame for the withdrawal. However, interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan must be stopped and its nonresumption must be guaranteed.

7/26 - LA Times - A small bomb exploded outside the wall of the ICRC hospital in Peshawar. There were no injuries & Khad agents were suspected. Pakistani army troops were sent to Parachinar (NWFP) to put down clashes between Shia & Sunni tribes.

7/27 - BIA - Habib Mangal was named Chmn. of the Peace, Friendship & Solidarity Organization.

7/28 - BIA - Abdul Ghafar Khan, 97-year-old nat'l leader of the Pashtoons, has been in a coma for nearly a month in an Indian hospital. (See 8/16)

7/29 - UN Press Release - Felix Ermacora, the Special Rapporteur for the UN Human Rights Commission, left for Kabul to begin a visit which will end 8/7. (See 8/10)

8/1 - BIA - DRA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil met with Flix Ermacora (sic).

8/2 - NYT - US Under Sec'y of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost is in Pakistan to ask the Pak. Gov't to crack down on a private procurement network believed to be trying to obtain material for the development of nuclear weapons.

For their part, Pakistani officials are expected to ask Mr. Armacost to accept their denials of involvement in the export conspiracy and their offers to help in the investigation. They will explain how anti-American sentiment in Pakistan is rising. That is, in part, because of the growing burden of three million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan as a result of the American-supported rebellion in Afghanistan and recent terrorist bombings that apparently involved the Afghan secret police.

- BIA - The RC Presidium adopted a "legislative document for regulating the procedure of formation & mode of activity of the territorial forces which are to be formed by voluntary frontier tribes' units & armed groups which came over to the side of people's power."

8/5 - NYT - Intense fighting was reported around Kabul & Kandahar disrupting air & road travel & causing a shortage of basic supplies. Reportedly Bakhtar Airline pilots have refused to fly between the 2 cities. A Soviet military transport plane crashed on landing at Kandahar airport on 7/27, killing about 25 Soviet & DRA personnel.

Kandahar was suffering severe shortages of sugar, gasoline and kerosene, according to various reports. Grain also was in short supply after the insurgents fired rockets into a Government storage facility, causing about \$1.75 million worth of damage, the diplomats said.

They said Kandahar's overburdened Civil Hospital had been all but abandoned by its staff and few patients remain.

Around Kabul, Afghan Government troops reportedly had been rushed in to reinforce Soviet forces dug in on high ground to the west. Diplomats said the

combined forces had failed to push back a guerrilla offensive from the mountains.

They described the around-the-clock fighting as fierce. The diplomats, citing Afghan Army reports, said Soviet officers in Kabul, fearing capture, had stripped insignias of rank from their uniforms. • • •

An unconfirmed report from a private Pakistani news service, the Afghan Press Agency, said the Russians used chemical gas bombardments in fighting near Kandahar on July 20.

Hundreds of people in 12 villages reportedly suffered skin and eye damage in the attack.

8/10 - Najib returned from his visit to Russia.

- UN Press Release - Felix Ermacora concluded his visit to Afghanistan on 8/8. He met with many DRA officials; was shown collections of supposedly captured weapons, including booby-trapped toys; visited Puli Charkhi prison, the Interrogation Center at Sedarat, & many hospitals; toured Herat & Mazar-i-Sharif. He will present a report to the UNGA and, later to the Human Rights Commission.

8/12 - LA Times - Diplomatic sources report that over 2,000 Afghans have moved into Kabul to escape heavy bombardment of the Shomali region north of Kabul.

8/13 - BIA - A DRA An-26 transport plane "carrying consumer goods" to Khost was shot down apparently with a Stinger.

8/16 - BIA - The Iranian charge in Kabul was given a note from the DRA Foreign Ministry protesting Iranian attacks on border posts near Islam Qala in Herat.

- An agreement for rubles 10m worth of public health aid was signed by the DRA & the USSR.

- Ghaffar Khan was transferred from a hospital in Delhi to Peshawar.

8/17 - BIA - The Agricultural Development Bank will give Afs. 648m credit to peasant members of agricultural cooperatives this year. The bank gives short term (up to 1 year) loans at 9% & 10% interest, medium & long term loans at 8%.

8/18 - BIA - Najib participated in a "glorious function" at the Defense Ministry commemorating Afghan Independence Day & Army Day.

FAIR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW • 6 AUGUST 1987

Washington has stepped up arms supplies to the guerillas and at least 800 Stinger missiles have been sent to Afghanistan since last October. Washington is said to be planning to raise its covert aid to the resistance from the current US\$640 million to US\$1 billion next year. While Moscow insists that only the winding down of the armed conflict can create the conditions for the PDPA, the resistance and the ex-king to form a coalition regime, Washington believes the Soviets can be forced out only by bleeding them.

Moreover, Moscow still has to make the key decision on whether it is willing to sidestep the communist government it brought to power in Kabul and initiate a genuine coalition government. Only then, observers believe, will Pakistan publicly back an internal settlement headed by Zahir Shah and encourage the US to accept the same.

8/6 - LA Times - Arnold Fletcher died:

The author of "Afghanistan: Highway of Conquest" and "Living World History" was 72 when he died Friday in a North Hollywood hospital.

Dr. Fletcher, who received his master's and doctorate degrees

from USC, was hired away from that campus in 1948 by Shah Mohammed Zahir, then ruler of Afghanistan, to teach American teaching methods to Afghan teachers.

ROA NATIONAL SECURITY REPORT

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Excerpts from the report on the Middle East by Gen. George B. Crist, USMC:

With their 1979 invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviets have clearly demonstrated their willingness to employ the military option when they believe the odds are in their favor. The Soviets are now into their eighth year of fighting the Mujahedin; considerably longer than they fought the Germans in World War II. Despite the highly publicized but largely cosmetic withdrawal of more than 2,000 non-essential personnel in the fall of 1986, the Soviets still maintain more than 115,000 occupation forces in Afghanistan.

The Soviets have become increasingly more aggressive in combating the Mujahedin since General Zaitsev's arrival on the scene. They have shifted from seasonal to year-round operations, and are employing scorched earth tactics that include the massive use of heavy artillery and mortars and the selective use of chemical weapons.

They have also placed increased emphasis on the use of Soviet special forces or Spetsnaz units who specialize in day and nighttime commando-type operations and ambushes. Emphasizing this point is the fact that the number of special forces units in Afghanistan has quadrupled, from two battalions in 1981 to two brigades today.

The Soviet's overall objectives are to ensure the success of the communist regime, which they installed, and to reduce Afghanistan to a client state, economically and politically subservient to the Soviet Union and its regional interests.

While the Soviet leadership in 1979 most certainly did not anticipate the costly war or attrition that has since developed, and the Mujahedin continue to demonstrate a remarkable ability to hold their own, particularly in the countryside, there is no reason to believe that the Soviets will accept any long or short term solution that will threaten or detract from their ultimate control of Afghanistan.

There is one last point on Afghanistan — Soviet forces are now 400 miles closer to the Persian Gulf and North Arabian Sea, operating from well-positioned military bases that could be used to intimidate other countries in the area.

The most immediate external threat to the government of Pakistan stems from increased Soviet and Afghan aggressiveness along Pakistan's western border. As a result of Pakistani support to the Afghan Mujahedin, the Soviets and their Afghan surrogates have applied considerable military and political pressure on Pakistan.

As part of this campaign to intimidate and destabilize the Pakistan government, Soviet supported and trained members of Afghanistan's intelligence organization have conducted bombings and incited trouble among the nearly three million Afghan refugees now in camps inside Pakistan.

AFGHAN AIR WAR

By BERNARD E. TRINOR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 6 — Afghan guerrillas have been destroying Soviet and Afghan aircraft at the rate of more than one a day since the insurgents started using Stinger missiles supplied by the United States, according to State Department assessments and intelligence reports.

Military Analysts

The aircraft losses are said to be causing major problems for the Soviet and Afghan Government forces. In addition, a senior State Department official said today that the seven major factions that make up the anti-Kabul resistance coalition were cooperating with each other more in the fighting.

The State Department official also cited continued poor morale and desertions among the Government forces as factors in the improved performance of the guerrillas.

Intelligence sources, however, doubt that cooperation between the factions will extend beyond occasional episodes on the battlefield. Disunity has plagued the guerrilla effort since the Russians invaded Afghanistan more than seven years ago.

Controlled tests of the Stinger indicate that the missiles should be successful 95 percent of the time. But military officers who work with the complicated weapon said that under battlefield conditions they would not expect even a well-trained gunner to hit targets more than half the time.

Americans are surprised how well the mountain warriors have taken to the weapon. Reportedly, their hits have been in the 40 percent range. One American intelligence official attributed this to the average Afghan tribesman's ability to learn quickly.

Intelligence analysts indicate that, starting last fall, Stingers were being delivered to the mujahedeen at the rate of 20 a month. After a cut for two months early this year, pressure in Congress led to a resumption of deliveries in April, and they have risen to a rate of 100 a month.

In their war on the ground, the Soviet and Afghan Government forces have come to depend heavily on their hitherto uncontested air supremacy to counter the guerrillas' elusive fighting style and hit-and-run tactics.

Soviet helicopters are used to transport soldiers to battle and to resupply them. Heavily armed Hind attack helicopters provide essential fire support against the mujahedeen, as do fixed-wing MIG and Sukhoi jets.

The losses inflicted upon the Soviet and Afghan air forces have not only deprived troops of much of their accustomed air support but have also caused morale problems among Afghan pilots. Some pilots are refusing to fly, according to intelligence officers.

They said Soviet fliers were still carrying out missions but were instructed to avoid flying over or near suspected rebel air-defense sites.

A State Department official indicated that the daily loss rate of Soviet and Afghan aircraft was 1.2 of all types, including helicopters and jets.

Intelligence officials said the insurgents, known as mujahedeen, had successfully integrated the American shoulder-fired missiles into an air-defense system made up of missiles, machine guns and light cannon. "The Soviets can't cope with it," one said.

Before they got the Stingers, the guerrillas would only occasionally manage to bring down a plane or helicopter, usually with machine-gun or light-cannon fire.

The State Department also provided details on two battles that took place simultaneously during May and June. About 1,000 guerrillas were attacked by 5,500 Soviet troops, including elite special forces troops, around the city of Pakia. The goal, according to United States officials, was to break the siege of Government garrisons in southeast Afghanistan near the Pakistan border.

The battle was said to be the biggest of the war and was marked by hand-to-hand combat and a lack of Soviet air support. Casualties were reported heavy on both sides, but no figures were given. The mujahedeen, held their ground and the Russians, after failing to break the siege, withdrew in mid-June, the officials said.

The other major battle also took place in the southeast. It reportedly was conducted by 5,000 Afghan Government troops supported by the Russians along the Arghandab River north of Kandahar. Again the guerrillas were said to have fought the Government troops to a standstill, with heavy casualties. Hundreds of desertions were reported from the Afghan Army, and one Afghan unit that reportedly tried to defect to the guerrilla side was bombed by the Russians, officials said.

Despite recent mujahedeen victories in the air and ground wars, the State Department spokesman said he saw no hope for a military victory over the Soviet force in Afghanistan, which numbers from 116,000 to 120,000. The official said that improved mujahedeen performance on the battlefield may serve to set the stage for a future political settlement, however.

More overtly, Soviet and Afghan military forces now routinely violate Pakistan's frontiers. Soviet and Afghan air violations for the first two months of 1987 have already surpassed the total for all of 1985, while ground incursions are also off to a record start. This has prompted the government of Prime Minister Junejo to turn to the US for help in upgrading both its early warning surveillance capabilities and its air defense systems.

The Officer MAY 1987

NYT 7/7

Moscow attacks Britain over Afghan Blowpipes

From Christopher Walker, Moscow

Britain has received a strong formal rebuke from the Kremlin for being actively involved in facilitating the supply of deadly British-made Blowpipe ground-to-air missiles to the Afghan rebels.

A British Embassy official said Sir Bryan Cartledge, the British Ambassador to Moscow, was summoned to the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Monday to receive the criticism in person.

The harsh tone of the Soviet attack was seen as reflecting growing concern that Moscow is beginning to lose the air war in Afghanistan because of the Blowpipes and US-built Stingers now in rebel hands.

According to Tass, the Soviet Foreign Ministry charged Britain — mainly on evidence garnered from the British press — of failing to prevent supplies of the shoulder-fired Blowpipe from reaching the rebels and of "embarking on the road of sending British instructors to train the counter-revolutionaries in handling the weapons".

The Ministry claimed that in speeches to Parliament on June 26 (following claims that M16 had helped the rebels secure the weapons) Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, and Mrs Lynda Chalker, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, "virtually admitted the Government's involvement in such deliveries and

even tried to justify them".

The main thrust of the strongly-worded attack was to imply that the British Government would be responsible if the Blowpipes were used to shoot down civilian planes over Afghanistan.

Moscow claims that more than 100 people have died in such attacks on its civilian passenger planes this year.

"Britain practises complicity in the undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan",

Islamabad — Muslim Mujahidin guerrillas, improved in co-ordination and air defenses, have bogged down Soviet and Afghan forces west of Kabul, according to Western diplomatic sources yesterday (AP reports).

stan, and performs actions aimed at undermining the national reconciliation process in that country. The extremely dangerous consequences of the transfer of the up-to-date anti-aircraft missile systems to the groups which use them against civilian planes, too, are obvious.

"The situation which is taking shape cannot but give rise to serious concern in the Soviet Union. Responsibility for its consequences and for a possible loss of life also rests with London," the Ministry said.

It is expected that Moscow's complaint will be pressed further later this year at a

meeting between Sir Geoffrey and Mr Edward Shevardnadze, the Soviet Foreign Minister.

British sources here have indicated in the past that all planes hit in the recent upsurge of guerrilla missile attacks were "legitimate targets".

● **Whitehall denial:** Whitehall sources said Sir Bryan told the Soviet authorities that remarks made by Sir Geoffrey and other ministers in the House of Commons did not amount to an admission that Britain was facilitating the supply of Blowpipe missiles to Afghan guerrillas (Andrew McEwen writes).

They said he told Mr Nicolai Nicolovich Uspenskiy, head of the Second European Department, that the Soviet protest was based on unsubstantiated press reports.

Sir Bryan refused to comment on the central allegation, and the same line was taken by Whitehall yesterday. The Foreign Office said that successive governments had not felt obliged to answer questions on the supply of Blowpipes.

Sir Bryan undertook to send Soviet officials copies of *Hansard*, which include a remark made by Sir Geoffrey on July 1 stating that it was "astonishing that anyone in the UK should express any alarm or dismay at the fact that the Afghan people are able to take effective action in their own defence".

Soviet forces mauled in Afghan reply to offensive

From Gavin Bell, Peshawar

Soviet pilots and commandos have suffered heavy casualties in a 24-day offensive against the Afghan resistance, which provoked the most intense fighting of the seven-year war.

According to Western and Mujahidin sources, at least 13 ground attack fighters and helicopters were shot down in a succession of fire-fights in the Jaji district of the eastern Paktia province last month.

The Jamiat-i-Islami (Islamic Alliance) guerrilla group said: the apparent aim of the Soviet offensive had been to cut a Mujahidin supply route which serves 18 provinces from Pakistan, and to destroy four of their bases in hills around the Afghan garrison town of Ali Khel, about six miles from the border.

The Mujahidin, armed with American Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, fought off the attacks with the loss of about 40 men. Sources among Soviet *Spetsnaz* special forces and Afghan soldiers were estimated at several hundred. No civilian casualties were reported, as villages in the area have been abandoned for almost two years.

"The main supply route was cut during the fighting, but there is another trail. Ammunition was still getting through", the guerrillas said.

Muhammad es-Haq, a political officer of the Jamiat-i-Islami, said the acquisition of Stingers had deprived Soviet troops of air cover in

some areas — but had led to heavy bombardments in others.

"Obviously we do not have enough of the missiles to cover all of the country," a commander will try to find the weak point of his enemy. So when they realize an area is not protected by anti-aircraft defences, they hit it hard."

He also confirmed that some Mujahidin have been firing rockets into Soviet territory from northern Afghanistan, triggering massive retaliation. We are checking a report now that about 30 aircraft attacked an area in the north-west every day for two weeks after a couple of rockets were fired across the border. We are told several hundred people were killed."

He drew a parallel with Israeli reprisals for similar Palestinian guerrilla attacks:

"The Russian response is much bigger. You must remember they are not restrained by Western media and governments like the Israelis."

A more serious long-term concern for the Mujahidin is the flight of millions of civilians who have traditionally provided their men in the field with food, shelter and intelligence.

With the war now in its eighth year, the economic and psychological effects of continuous violence and deprivation are evidently severe.

The Times (London) 7/9 p.9

The Times (London)

7/8/87 p.7

Moscow admits higher Afghan casualties

SOVIET and Afghan Government casualties have risen in Afghanistan following an increase in attacks by guerrilla forces in recent months. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Boris Pyadyshev said yesterday. Reuters reports from Moscow.

He said that guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed communist Government in Kabul had stepped up attacks since Afghan leader Najib declared a unilateral ceasefire last January.

"The (guerrillas) side has made use of this unilateral cessation to military activity by Soviet and Afghan (Government) troops to exercise military actions," Mr Pyadyshev said.

He said the guerrillas had also been using modern weapons supplied by the US. These included shoulder-held heat-seeking US Stinger

missiles used to down scores of helicopters and planes.

"This created additional difficulties, and led to additional casualties among Afghan and Soviet troops and air force," he said, but gave no casualty figures.

He said, without giving details, that measures were being taken to end this "short-lived superiority."

The Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan in December 1979 and has an estimated force of 115,000 there.

Neither Moscow nor Kabul publishes details of military clashes but a US official said this month that co-ordinated guerrilla units had for the first time driven into retreat a large Soviet force including elite troops.

The official, who asked not to be named, said the clash took place in Afghanistan's Paktia province bordering Pakistan.

The Alliance Decision Criticized

Eight Mujahideen Parties based in Iran have criticized decision of the Alliance of the Mujahideen of Afghanistan to hold elections without consulting them.

In a communique the mentioned parties stated that all sections of Afghan society have participated in the struggle against the Soviet invaders so they should be given opportunity to participate in deciding their future. It is further said that the announced election is not practical and will heighten the differences between contesting parties and lead to more problems.

Jamiat reported in *Afghan News*, 7/7, that Cdr. Saifullah Afzali was killed when his car was ambushed on the Taibat-Turkha border near the Iran-Afghan border. He was a graduate of the Science Faculty of Kabul University & had been active in the resistance in Herat since the communist coup.

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CONTENTS



VOL. XV

September 1987

NO. 5

News Stories	Begin on page
Chronology.....	3
Articles.....	8
Events.....	2
Refugees.....	16
Movies.....	19
Recent Publications.....	20
Book Reviews.....	21
Articles from the <u>Kabul New Times</u>	26
DRA Decree on Land & Water Management.....	27
DRA Labor Law.....	28
DRA Political Parties Law.....	30
DRA Draft Constitution.....	31
In Memoriam - Leon B. Poullada.....	36

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB - Afghan Information Center Monthly Bulletin
AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal
BIA - Bakhtar Information Agency
CC - Central Committee
CSM - Christian Science Monitor
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review
FRG - Federal Republic of Germany
IHT - International Herald Tribune
KNT - Kabul New Times
NFF - National Fatherland Front
NWFP - Northwest Frontier Province
NYT - New York Times
NYCT - New York City Tribune
OIC - Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO - Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT - Pakistan Times
RC - Revolutionary Council
RTV - Refugee Tent Village
SCMP - South China Morning Post
UNGA - United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ - Wall Street Journal

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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